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SUMMARY AND FREE

REFLECTIONS,

IN WHICH

THE GREAT OUTLINE ONLY,

AND

PRINCIPAL FEATURES,

OF SEVERAL

INTERESTING SUBJECTS,

ARE

IMPARTIALLY TRACED,

AND

CANDIDLY EXAMINED.

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INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE often wondered that old Montaigne's plain ſimple Manner of ſetting down his Thoughts on detached Subjects, juſt as they accidentally preſented themſelves, without any regular Purſuit, has ſo ſeldom been adopted. I am confident that the great Repoſitory of Science would be much benefited by it, and that if (in the Way of Eſſay-writing) Nothing was admitted but what was ſtrictly in Point to the Matter under Diſcuſſion, or that tended to throw ſome new Light upon it, the Penetration, and Fancy of Authors, who aſpired to a *juſt* Attainment of that Title, would be put to greater Efforts, as it would be impoſſible, by ſo ingenuous a Procedure, to *fill* even a moderate Pamphlet on any ſingle Topic. I am, beſides, clear, that many an intereſting Obſervation has been loſt, for want of a plodding Perſeverence to induce the ſpinning it out into a Treatiſe, when the ſame inventive Genius, had it once occurred, could (with ſuffi-

cient Indulgence to his Vivacity) have furniſhed Volumes of entertaining and uſeful Reflections, upon the good old Frenchman's Plan.

Not that I think any Man can aſſert with Truth, that he will advance Nothing but what is abſolutely new, and genuinely his own. In the firſt Caſe, he cannot be ſuppoſed to know all that has been ſaid; in the ſecond, his Memory may eaſily betray him into *involuntary* Repetition, the premeditated Plagiary *only*, is blameable, and then only when he tranſcribes ſolely to encreaſe the Size of his Work.

There is, nevertheleſs, much Credit due to the laborious Compilers, from Writers of all Ages, for their Induſtry, Judgment, and Ingenuity, in ſelecting, ranging, and dreſſing the various Opinions of Hundreds, ſo as to be aſcribeable to none in particular; it is beſides, of real Service, to the Indolent, and Diſſipated, to whoſe Want of Application, it adminiſters a cheap and ſpeedy Means of Inſtruction.

After what I have ſaid, it is more than probable, that if I follow the Track I have preſcribed, I ſhall be cenſured as aſſuming the Character of Ingenious; no Matter, almoſt

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every Man, if he conſults his own Feelings, will find himſelf in the ſame Predicament; and I make no doubt, but even the unprejudiced Socrates, in the very Moment that he declared he knew Nothing, felt the Propriety of the wiſe Men, and of the Oracle's Deciſion, in his Favour, and was well convinced how much he *relatively* excelled in Wiſdom; nor was his Veracity in any Sort impeached, by this paradoxical Profeſſion of Ignorance, which was, probably, only an equivocal Avowal of the *Inconcluſiveneſs* of every ſpecious Doctrine he had taught, and a Belief that he could, with equal Succeſs, have maintained the contrary, or that he thought them at leaſt, far wide of *Demonſtation*.

It is however, hoped, that they under whoſe Peruſal, the more ſerious Parts of the following Reflections may chance to fall, will have Candor enough, not to be offended at the Air of Deciſion with which they ſeem to be delivered; I am, for my own Share, *convinced* of the moral Truth of my Aſſertions, it is therefore juſt that I ſhould ſpeak, in the poſitive Language of Conviction: Nor can there be, on that Account, the leaſt Danger of its impoſing

poſing on the Unguarded; it is, on the Contrary, the inſinuating, ambiguous, *maſked* Eſſay, one ſhould diſtruſt, that only mines the Roots of Prejudice, and leaves the Reader to himſelf, to compleat their Overthrow.

Theſe few, artleſs Lines, ſtrike too openly, and directly into the Matter, not to be immediately rejected, by all who are not, already, far advanced in *Doubt*, and where that is the Caſe, I dare affirm, there is Nothing here, which if it fixes, can have the Shadow of a pernicious Tendency, nay, that very Doubt; if proceeding from a juſt Motive, that is, from the Deſire of *rational Conviction*, will be here, ſo far gratified, as to find, that on every *Deſideratum*, relating to ſo important a Subject, the moſt diſprejudiced and *ſcrupulous Sincerity* has been invariably exerted; and as little Plea, as poſſible, *left by equivocal Definition*, for thoſe invidious, or venal *Tamperers*, who, for the Indulgence of their own Vanity, or from ſtill baſer Views to Profit, have (in every religious Creed hitherto eſtabliſhed) *layed the Way open* to SCHISM, that moſt pernicious, and extenſively deſtructive of all human Scourges, in its endleſſly varied, inſignificant, and flimſy, yet!

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miſchievous *Amendments*, ſo they are termed, but they are in Truth *ſuch*, as ultimately aim but at their own Emolument: and commonly end in the compleat *Obliteration* of the Author's original Intent.

How glorious, and how unaſſailable, had Mahomet's Religion been, if delivered as it was, probably, *firſt* conceived: uninfluenced by the *acceſſorial After-views* of *fixing* it by Conqueſt, ſo fatally ſuggeſted by his Relations, and unſullied by thoſe *pious Frauds* and *popular Allurements*, which, tho' calculated to ſecure its truely rapid Eſtabliſhment, made it ultimately, but too obnoxious to the ſevere, tho' juſt Cenſures of *Impoſture*. THE UNITY OF GOD, was *alone* a noble Baſis—ſupported by plain Senſe, clear Argument, and ſound Philoſophy, of which it was ſo amply and unimpeachably ſuſceptible, it had, probably, been *now* univerſal, and thus *aſcertained and fortified* it would have well deſerved the Name of RATIONAL THEISM, a Worſhip totally independent of *partial* Revelations, and founded *ſolely* on the Contemplation of thoſe *permanent* Miracles, which at all Times, and every where, loudly proclaim both the Exiſtence and Omnipotence

of

of him that wrought them.—It draws its Inferences of a preſent *probatory State*, and of a future State of Happineſs for the Meritorious, from the *peculiar* Nature of its own Spirit, and from the neceſſary Equity of a totally indendent Being. This Religion, I ſay, if conſidered in the merely political Light of its effectual Preclusion of all poſſible *Schiſm*, had, in its intrinſic Services to Mankind, been univerſally beneficial. Its Progreſs, on that ſimple and benevolent Plan, which was, *certainly*, the *firſt* Intention of the Prophet, *had*, I admit, been, comparatively tedious: but, when once arrived at Maturity, it had been firmly rooted, and in its great Out-line—the ſole and *immediate* Worſhip of one omnipotent and benign CREATOR, it had been *unimprovable*, and, by neceſſary Conſequence, *unſectarized* and PERMANENT.

I however, at all Events, pretend to no excluſive Title to right Reaſon, in differing from the Opinions of others; and I flatter myſelf that thoſe, to whom I may happen to be known, will confeſs that I have been ever as ready to attend, and (where I could in Conſcience, do it,) to aſſent to ſuch Truths as were

were advanced, as to deliver what I *really* deemed ſo myſelf.

It may be, perhaps, in this new, and in many Parts inlarged Impreſſion of my Tracts, not unintereſting to ſome of my Readers, to be acquainted with the extenſive Senſe in which I comprehend my firſt Quotation from Shakeſpear, and the two that follow it, from the ninth Book of Lucan's Pharſalia.—" There " are more Wonders in Heaven and Earth, " Horatio, than we dream of in our Philo- " ſophy ?" So Hamlet ſays, who, tho' a clearly, wiſe and virtuous Man, yet, as an Inhabitant of the *North*, might, like *Macbeth*, very conſiſtently with that Character, be repreſented as obnoxious to the notorious *Superſtition* of his Country. Shakeſpear was, in Fact, little ſhort of * oracular in many Inſtances, and

* When I call Shakeſpear *oracular*, his Obſervations and his Language appear to me ſtrikingly ſimilar to the Idea conciſely couched in two Lines near the Concluſion of Milton's Penſeroſo :

" Till old Experience do attain
" To ſomething like prophetic Strain."

And (in Conformity to that divine Poet's Notion) I am perfectly convinced; that a diſprejudiced Mind, long accuſtomed to *obſerve*, and in conſtant Habits of tracing Effects up to their firſt

cou'd, *as a meer human Being*, be ſo, *only* by a long and ſcrupulous Obſervance of the *Minds Progreſs*, and of the Motives, by which its Deciſions are generally influenced; to ſuch a Writer, the tedious Difficulty of eradicating early *national* Habits, muſt have been known, and cou'd not but be ſteadily obſerved. His third Richard was, tho' not a *virtuous*, certainly a *wiſe* man: he too ſees *Ghoſts*, but, being no *Northern Hero*, ſees them in *a Dream*, and ſeems hurt at the Conſciouſneſs *even* of that. Thus much, for the Vindication of our glorious Poet, ſo ruthleſsly and ignorantly arraigned by Voltaire, and his unfeeling Aſſociates, thus much I ſay was ſurely due from One, ſo endleſsly obliged to him, both for rational Entertainment, and for the moſt moral and edifying Leſſons.—But, reſpecting the Obſervation *itſelf*, it conveys to me, in the moſt impreſſive Terms, the too often neglected Caution of *Diffidence* in all *Knowledge* that is not the clear Reſult of poſitive *Experience* and *faireſt Inference*: in

firſt Cauſes with ſcrupulous Diſcrimination; if likewiſe ſufficiently verſed in his own Language to deliver his Opinions in appoſite and elegant Terms, wou'd nearly *realize* Milton's poetical Idea.

marked

marked Oppoſition to the pedantic Arrogance of merely Claſſic Learning, which is but too often, humiliatingly *undeceived* by that conſummate TEACHER. Lucan's *Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides*, inſtead of being, by a literal Tranſlation, warped into Spinoſa's atheiſtical *Principle*; does but proclaim the Workmanſhip, and the ſublime Contrivance of the DEITY, manifeſtly evident in every Object that we ſee: by what? in Fact but Miracle! permanent Miracle, is the minuteſt Atom actuated. *Obſerve*, ſays Cato, inveſtigate attentively, avail yourſelves of that wondrous Faculty, which God has given you; every Object that you behold, cannot but be *then* * oracular.—For his *Dixit ſemel naſcentibus Auctor—Quicquid ſcire licet*—it applies equally to that reaſoning Intellect, excluſively imparted to the human Race: by whoſe *aggregate* Obſervations on the whole Creation (if made with Induſtry and with Diſprejudice) every Thing *neceſſary* or proper for us to know, is,

* His Army fatigued and harraſſed with marching through the Deſart, were perſuading him to conſult the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, before whoſe Temple they were *then* paſſing, which Cato indignantly denies to do, in the above Terms: deemed by Lucan worthy of the Oracle itſelf.

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by *Experience*, *Inference*, and *Analogy*, ſufficiently diſcoverable. This Aſſertion, fully, tho' conciſely couched in the above Sentence, will, I truſt, be, in the enſuing Sheets, in ſome Degree, exemplified. And clearly prove that Oracles, with their *temporary Mimic*,* Revalations, which, beſides their groſs Impiety, are diametrically oppoſite to the very End of *Probation*, are as unworthy of our Confidence, as the virtuous Cato teſtifies; or as all true Believers in a *Probatory State*, or in the Conſiſtency of an impartial and benign DEITY, muſt ever neceſſarily deem them.

* The only Difference that I can diſcover between Oracles, and Prophets, *which laſt are the Authors of Revelations*, and have exiſted in all Parts of the World, and in all Ages; is, that the firſt were ſanctioned by the Authority of Government, often conſulted, and being (probably) well choſen, and well informed, often delivered beneficial, and juſt, tho' ſometimes obſcure, Decrees. The *Prophet*, on the Contrary, was ſanctioned *only* by the popular Cry: theſe were not, *as the firſt*, conſulted on any ſpecific Subject, but abruptly obtruded their own crude Notions, on the Credulity of their ignorant Followers.—They both pretended, and with equal Title, to divine Inſpiration. Him, however, of Mecca, I except from this Diſcription, *he* was of the firſt Family of his Nation, and lived to the Age of Forty before he divulged his *firſt* truly Orthodox and Philoſophical Opinions, which were ſo far from being *popular* in an *idolatrous* Country, that he was, *on their Account*, reduced to ſave his Life, by a precipitate Flight with very few, and very *reſpectable* Followers.

AN

ENDEAVOUR

TO PROVE THAT

REASON

IS ALONE

SUFFICIENT

TO THE

FIRM ESTABLISHMENT

OF

RELIGION,

WHICH MUST ON

PRINCIPLES OF FAITH

BE EVER

PRECARIOUS.

ALTHOUGH the following Tract has been too many Years publiſhed, to ſtand in Need of any Introduction; it may be yet, not quite from the Purpoſe, to point out that ſpecific Diſtinction, by which the religious Syſtem it is intended to inculcate, is peculiarly marked.

The moral Doctrines of many eſtabliſhed Religions, are undoubtedly, *in themſelves*, excellent: and thoſe of the renowned Confucius, pre-eminently ſo. But, while the aggregate Authenticity of the firſt (in their ſeveral Reſpects) is ſupported *ſolely* by Arguments drawn from traditional Facts, which (independent of their infinite Variety and Diſſonance) are neither reconcilable to Reaſon, nor to the regular Courſe and immutable Laws of Nature: the Injunction of implicit Belief in them, cannot but ſeriouſly ſhock the Diſcerning and Unprejudiced. And for the Confucian Code, as it conſiſts of mere Precepts, unſupported by any Authority, except the incomparable Senſations

of its Author; tho' they are thoſe of an indiſputably wiſe and virtuous Man, they are but too open to the intereſted Attacks of any equally eloquent and artful Aſſailant, aided by the powerful Aſſiſtance of thoſe Paſſions which Confucius would ſuppreſs, and which his Opponents might, at leaſt as plauſibly, maintain to have been imparted to us, rather as an actual Bleſſing, than as an eventual and almoſt perpetual Source of Mortification.

The chief aim then, of this artleſs Tract and its Appendix, is, effectually to obviate theſe Objections. And, inſtead of impeding the Obſervance of the very beſt moral Doctrines, by either connecting them with abſurd and diſcordant Myſteries, or ſubjecting them to be rejected, as the mere unauthorized Precepts of an Individual; permanently to demonſtrate the Expediency of Virtue, not barely on Principles of preſent Intereſt, or internal Satisfaction. But, by the cleareſt Inferences, fairly reſulting from Contemplations on the *really viſible* Wonders of God's Creation (which are at all Times, and *every where*, equally manifeſt) univerſally to eſtabliſh the eternal Exiſtence of an OMNIPOTENT BEING, the inevitable

inevitable *Concluſion* of his Equity, and with it, the pleaſing Proſpect of a *Future State*, as the due and infallible Reward of Virtuous Actions: for tho' the natural Inclinations of ſome extraordinary Men, may *alone* happily ſuffice to promote their Practice. Yet, will the *well-grounded* Hope of *future* Benefits, be an Inducement for the Generality of the Human Species but too neceſſary, to conciliate, with any Succeſs, their Renunciation of ſuch *preſent* immoral or illicit Gratifications, as are often in their Power, even to the Ruin of their fellow Creatures; and, yet, either from their own Nature, or through Concealment, are beyond the poſſible Control or Reach of human Laws.

AN ENDEAVOUR

TO PROVE THAT

REASON IS ALONE SUFFICIENT TO THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, &c.

UPON an impartial Inquiry into the Cauſes of the ſhort Duration of almoſt every Mode of Worſhip hitherto eſtabliſhed, and of the continual Variations and Diſſentions in ſuch as have ſubſiſted for any conſiderable Length of Time, I find myſelf reduced to acquieſce in the general Cry, that the Fault is in the human Heart; not, however, in that Diviſion of Mankind, to which it is uſually aſcribed, the Multitude; *they* are merely paſſive, or at worſt, Tools to the active Part, which are of three Kinds; the Firſt, intereſtedly diſcerning, and who, though the profeſſed Teachers and Protectors of Religion, have yet, ever kept their own Importance and private Emolument ſo conſtantly in View, as (under the Seal of *Myſtery* and *Miracle*) never to let ſlip an Opportunity for ſuch Interpretation or Change,

as ſhould be excluſively productive of Benefit to themſelves.

The Second, who are open, honeſt, unprejudiced, and of conſequence (where there are Grounds for it) ſceptical, meaning no Ill, inadvertently furniſh Materials to a third unquiet Set, who though they at firſt aſpire only to teaze, and to triumph, grown more knowing in the End, and more ambitious by Succeſs, ſeldom fail of deſtroying, what they originally intended only to ridicule.

The Motives may have been various, but ſuch in general have been the Defenders, and ſuch (with the occaſional Aid of Conqueſt, freſh Impoſture, and Credulity) the principal Agents in the Fate of moſt Religions as yet adopted.

If we trace it ſtill higher, we ſhall, I fear, on tenting it, find the Heart equally corrupt: What? but the Love of Power: or Vanity, and Intereſt in ſome other Shape, could induce the firſt Inſtitutors of every Religion, to ſupport a Code of Morals (neceſſarily well adapted, and good, or ſpecious in all) on ſo precarious and unſound a Baſis as that of *Faith!* they but too plainly ſaw, That however

ever more ſolid any other might have been, Poſterity and the Community would alone reap the Benefit; and that it was ſolely by *Miracles*, the preſent private End, could be ſpeedily, excluſively, and effectually ſerved.

Even ſo far let us forgive them. A natural Attachment to their own thriving Plan, might poſſibly prevent their foreſeeing that every future Innovator, who ſhould ſet up againſt it, could obviouſly be furniſhed with the ſame ſlight Materials.

But what every reaſoning Man muſt reflect on with Indignation, is their premeditated and artful Proſtitution of the Deity, whoſe Worſhip was to be eſtabliſhed, and which muſt of Neceſſity be the Caſe, where *popular* Miracles were to be the Baſis, as in all Religions founded on *Faith*; for, if they were not addreſſed *ad Hominem*, they loſt their Aim; and if they were ſo directed, they muſt be palpably (to ſuit their Capacities) ordinary, abſurd, and ſuch as they would never have dared to practiſe on the Experienced, Wary, and Diſintereſted: Can it be imagined? they ſhould not have foreſeen, that, after the fanatic Rage and Fermentation (cauſed by the Abolition

Abolition of one Sect, and the Eſtabliſhment of another) was ſubſided, the very identical Means that had been made uſe of, to enforce Credit with the Weak, would be a Block in the Way of the Unprejudiced, never to be got over? for, that Faith and Reaſon are, in Matters of Religion, totally independent, if not incompatible with each other, has been already too clearly proved, by too eminent a Writer, to need the leaſt further Illuſtration; and with thoſe by whom the Credentials of a Miſſionary are diſputed, it is eaſy to gueſs the Reception and the Fate his Doctrine will meet.

Are we then? it is urged, to be left to the ſole Guidance of our Wills, and to *thoſe compunctious Viſitings of Nature*, which even Savages may be ſuppoſed occaſionally to have? I anſwer No; for, probably, the utmoſt they ever ſuggeſted to an uncultivated Mind, was, (ſuited, I ſhould imagine, to the awful and ſtupendous Phænomena that gave riſe to thoſe Feelings) a bare reverential Idea of a ſuperior Being, which (as the Fears of the Weak, made them eager to appeaſe its dreaded Wrath) the Cunning of the more Speculative and Aſpiring eaſily improved into ſuch Forms as Accident

preſented

preſented, or Invention dictated as moſt proper to enthrall the Minds of thoſe they meant to govern.

To remove every Object of Impoſition on the Credulous; to meet on their own Ground the Candid and Unprejudiced, and to leave no Hold for the Intereſted to pervert, or for the Miſchievous to diſcredit: in an enlightened Age, when the common Accidents of the Heavens are foreſeen, and the Uncommon, found, on Experience, and upon Record, to be, however dreadful, in no Sort portentous, it ſhould be laid down as a fundamental Axiom, that all ſupernatural Agency, as relative to the worldly Tranſactions of Man, did ceaſe, at the Hour of his Creation, and the attributing any ſuch *Partiality* to God, cenſured as derogatory and impious; the furtheſt Stretch of his Influence on Earth, conſiſtent with the Religion of Reaſon, would be, the ſtrengthening a Mind habitually employed in the Purſuit of Virtue; nor is that Term, tho' it may have infinitely various Relations, ſo vague as the Lovers of Argument have called it; its different Views might be each a Theſis for the Lecturers on moral Religion, as firſt, a ſtrict Obſervance

of

of the Laws of Nature, as dictated by mere Intuition and Conſcience; and where that (though it generally ſpeaks clear and loud enough) is ſilenced by the Paſſions, refer them to thoſe of Society and Cuſtom, if their Object be the Good of the Community; and laſtly, awe them with the Reproach and Penalty of a Breach of thoſe of the Land: Can the moſt determined Cavillers deny, that an Obedience to theſe, is Virtue, though they may differ in different Nations. It is alone capable of endleſs Subdiviſions, and might occupy the Teachers of it as much, and ſurely to more Advantage, than their eternal Comments on ſcriptural Texts.

Nothing, they ſay, but a Dread of the Horns of the Devil, is ſufficient to curb the Paſſions of the Ignorant; I anſwer, no other Plan has been tried, and that, becauſe the Generality of Mankind being weak and ſuperſtitious, the Few, deſirous of leading them, knew too well their Intereſt, ever to miſs availing themſelves of an Aptitude ſo much to their Advantage; and ſtill the rather, as a Generation or two might be ſpent in eradicating Prejudices ſo deeply rooted, by mere Dint of Argument,

which

which when effected, and the Multitude compleatly undeceived, another Age might paſs away in eſtabliſhing the *Habits* of a moral Religion; yet I firmly believe, ſhould an Event ſo utterly improbable (in the preſent State of the World) ever take place, nothing but an univerſal Return of Ignorance, could occaſion even an Attack upon ſo well grounded and unexceptionable a Doctrine.

Beſides, we have daily Proofs, that the Incitement to preſent Gratification, is greatly prevalent to the Apprehenſion of future uncertain Puniſhment; and as to the Fool's having ſaid, "There is no God," I fancy 'tis a Miſtake, for the Fool ſcarcely ever thought about the Matter; or if he did, his Weakneſs would rather have engendered Superſtition than other; the only *Pretenders* to Atheiſm, are the vain Lovers of Puzzle and Paradox, tenacious of Maxims originally contracted (through Inattention and Vivacity) in the Society of Deiſts, whoſe Arguments they had caught up indiſtinctly, and by Halves; or miſtaken Philoſophers, who, inſtead of giving *abſolute* Credit to that only which they can demonſtrate, moſt arrogantly and abſurdly deny,

deny, whatſoever they are unable to comprehend.

The truly wiſe Man is cautious, and in Matters where his Senſes (through the Inadequacy of his reaſoning Faculty) ſeem at Variance with his Principles, confident in the hourly Elucidation of Experience, exclaims with the Poet, *There are more Wonders in Heaven and Earth—than we dream of in our Philoſophy*, or to the anxious Multitude, requiring Miracles in the Deſart, *Jupiter eſt quodcunque vides:* Can there? he continues, be a more ſtupendous one, than the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in their conſtant and invariable Progreſs through the azure Concave that ſurrounds us, brilliant and pleaſing, as it is awful! Should Reaſon aſk a clearer Evidence than is given by the Work itſelf, not barely of the Exiſtence, but of the conſummate Excellence of the Artiſt; are we not rather (when we would penetrate and define the myſterious Exiſtences of Light, Heat, Attraction, Gravitation, Life, or the Wonders of the even viſible Part of his Creation) ever humiliatingly compelled to own, that here their Subtilty, there, their Immenſity, ſeems

to

to mock the fruitleſs and feeble Efforts of our Fancy, and reduce us to the State of Madmen and of Dreamers, whoſe Clue of Ideas fails them, as Story ſays Expreſſion did formerly, the Labourers of Babel.

Can any Man, with the leaſt Tincture of Ingenuouſneſs who reflects on the impaſſable Limits preſcribed to each Species of Animal and of Vegetable, on their reſpectively appropriate Inſtincts, and on their infinite Variety, deny that it is as preciſe and regular, as it is an amazing Compoſition! and does he not bluſh for and pity the pertinacious Ravings of thoſe, who, in deſpite of Common Senſe, could attribute ſuch *invariable* Effects, to a *fortuitous* and blind Jumble of Atoms.

Let the Unreaſoning perſiſt in ſeeking for, till they by Conſequence deny, a primary Cauſe, I am well ſatisfied that what I ſee, is too *permanently* regular to be the Work of Chance, and too vaſt for the Hand of any Thing leſs than Omnipotence. Amply content with this, I aſk no further Proof of God's Exiſtence; and ſince I know he is, I ſhall never be perverſe enough to admit a Doubt of ſo pleaſing a Truth, becauſe I cannot penetrate

netrate the *wonderful Myſtery of how he came to be*, but readily conclude him ETERNAL.

Having now diſcovered that the Portion of Reaſon he has alloted me, is, if cultivated with Integrity, ſufficient to the detecting and deſtroying the Errors of Prejudice, I cannot be withheld from ſo grateful and important an Intereſt, as an Inquiry into ſuch of the moral Attributes of this unknown, and wonderous God, as may lead to the eſtabliſhing on the firm Baſis of *Argument*, a ſteady Dependence upon his Equity and Goodneſs, though with reverential Diffidence, and no further than I feel it an indiſpenſible Duty owing to the Quiet of my Mind, when it ſhall be, perhaps, leſs capable of diſtinguiſhing, and may wiſh to recur to the Deciſion of its moſt diſpaſſionate and vigorous Period.

The neceſſary Reſult then, of candid, but *uncontrouled* Reflection, on this all-powerful Being is, to conclude him juſt; for, to what Purpoſe or End, ſhould he (whoſe Attainment of all Things is bounded only by his Will, and whoſe Dominion could by Partiality or Derangement, acquire no Acceſſion) be otherwiſe; beſides, the unerring Punctuality of his

Works

Works ſufficiently implies a Love of *Rectitude** ; and does human Reaſon arrogate too much ? in thinking it incompatible with that Juſtice, to commit a virtuous Man to Annihilation, after having paſſed in active Benevolence and patient Reſignation, a toilſome and painful Life, *as little of his own ſeeking*, as were the Miſeries he ſuffered of his acquiring ? It cannot but be anſwered, No; and this Alternative plainly announces a future State, without the Neceſſity of Revelation.

But, whether the Perpetuation of our animal Exiſtence will be indiſcriminately extended

* Virtue manifeſtly conſiſts in the *Practice* of *moral Rectitude, that is*, in acting towards our fellow Creatures, in ſtrict Conformity to the *approved* Cuſtoms of Society, and above all, to that great Law of Reaſon and of Conſcience, *doing unto Others, what we wou'd wiſh, (in ſimilar Circumſtances) to be done unto* Ourselves. Thus far may be inculcated by Precept, and by the Fear of Reprobation and of Puniſhment. But, to make it the genuine *Love of Virtue*, not merely *practical Equity*, we ſhou'd be habituated, from a very early Period, to the Purſuit of *Rectitude*, in, even, its *mechanical Relations*. He who can behold *without Regret* the wanton Deſtruction or even Derangement of any Property whatever, tho' totally unconnected with himſelf, is *no real Enemy to Miſchief ;* and in the Eye of God, little better than an Hypocrite in his Profeſſions. His Feelings are at Variance with them, and his outward Practice, tho' habitual, muſt be ever under the Influence of ſelfiſh Motives.

to all, is a Queſtion upon which Volumes might be ſpeciouſly written; guided however, by the preceding Concluſion, I incline to the Negative, ſince a Futurity, to ſuch as were entitled only to the condign Penalty of their Offences, would imply rather Cruelty and Vengeance than Juſtice, for, the Puniſhment of Crimes, when inflicted by a totally independent Being (if it be not *in terrorem*) is no other; and it could never with Propriety, be called Exemplary, unleſs the Living were *actual* Witneſſes of the Delinquents Sufferings.

The next Article to be conſidered is, in what Relation we ſtand to the unalterable Laws of this great Diſpoſer of all Things, and they to us; and if human Reaſon *alone* ſuffices to the conceiving ſuch a State of them, as, when ſubmitted to impartial Judgment, ſhall enforce a ready Aſſent to their Equity.

In order to this, let it be firſt remarked that we were ſtationed here, with all thoſe Faculties, Wants, and Paſſions, that we are ſo inceſſantly the Dupes of, and which, were they in *general* weaker than Reaſon, had been inſufficient to the Purpoſes for which they were probably intended.

Secondly,

Secondly, Let us ſuppoſe the full and uninterrupted Exiſtence of Free-will, that is, its Power of *determining*, from the Impreſſion of external Objects on our Senſes; nor can I think the Deity in the leaſt liable to Complaint, in that he *may* foreſee theſe accidental Cauſes and Effects, for it muſt of Force be allowed, that if he *can* all Things, he ſurely may have endowed this whole terreſtrial Syſtem, with Properties and Powers, adequate to the End they were ordained for, and the great Work compleated, *may* ſtand aloof, and even have impoſed on himſelf, an abſolute and impenetrable Ignorance of the *Detail* of worldly Tranſactions; it is, ſtrictly reaſoning, inconſiſtent with that Equity we attribute to him, to believe otherwiſe.

Thirdly and laſtly, Let us conclude the human Race, ſubjected, while on Earth, to the hazardous State of a juſt and fair *Probation*, which could never truly be the Caſe, unleſs Paſſion and Accident, with the endleſs Viciſſitude of Pain and Pleaſure, Good and Ill, Virtue or Vice, they may occaſion, were looſed upon us, with unlimited Sway; and hence only the Source of Merit, and hence the real

Origin of Evil; the flowery Paths of the Firſt, are even at their Entrance peaceful and pleaſant; but when advanced, and habituated in them, the very Purſuit may with Propriety be ſtiled its own Reward, were there no greater in View; BENEVOLENCE only and FORTITUDE are the Guides of that luxurious Enthuſiam they lead to.

Were the Almighty to indulge our prepoſterous Notions, and to appoint a *general* and *ſtanding* Miracle, ſuch as ſhould at once enlighten us, and atteſt its divine Guidance, (for the Inefficacy of *local* and *traditional* ones, is but too evident:) or were this part of the Creation regulated on any other conceivable Plan, a human Creature would be *then*, nearly analogous to a Clock, or any other Piece of ingenious Machinery; and would *infallibly* perform in juſt Proportion to the Accuracy it was made with and attended to: On the contrary, how elevated is the great Cato's Sentiment, and the obvious Principles it is pregnant with, *Dixit ſemel naſcentibus Auctor—quicquid ſcire licet.*

Nor will manly Candour, ever doubt that *Reaſon alone* ſufficiently atteſts itſelf to be our only Guide; for without *perfectly Free-Will*, totally

totally independent of the *Direction*, Influence, or even Foreknowledge of his Maker, the Man would, (like the Automaton,) deſerve neither Praiſe nor Blame, Reward nor Puniſhment; nor could be juſtly ſaid to have the leaſt Merit of his own, which can be ſolely conſtituted by his *own actual* good or ill Direction of his *willing* Faculty, though he might well reflect much upon his Author.

Thus it is (I think) clearly proved, that of whatſoever Advantages the moſt explicit and authentic Revelation of the Divine Will, might (in a political View) be productive, though by the Light of ſuch Inſtructions every Step we made in this Life tended to Perfection and to Happineſs; yet it muſt, if admitted in even the minuteſt Inſtance of *Inſtruction or Document from above*, totally diſappoint the Purpoſe of Probation; it is alſo equally evident, that in a *probatory State*, *Evil was indiſpenſibly neceſſary*; for, without its exiſtence there could poſſibly be neither Error nor Temptation to it; and conſequently, no Means (by the avoiding it) of *acquiring Merit*, in the Eſtimation of our God, whoſe Power of creating originally perfect Beings, or of revealing, and effectually eſtabliſh-

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ing Rules of infallibility of Conduct, no Man in his Senſes will ever think of diſputing.

In this ſhort and ſummary Review of ſo important a Subject, I have endeavoured to reduce ſuch Thoughts as have at different Periods of my Life occured to me upon it, to ſimple and diſtinct Maxims and Principles; which were collectively, too much clogged and biaſſed by Paſſion and Prejudice, to admit of their being fairly examined. Ranged, or rather cleared as thy now ſtand, each may ſeparately be the Theſis of elaborate Diſcuſſion, as the whole, though the Work of Two Winter's Evenings, is the Reſult of many Years attentive Conſideration on its Parts.

The Doctrine of free uninfluenced Will, as ſtated above, ſeems, on its firſt Face, to reject the Uſe of Prayer; to what End ſhould we call upon the Deity, or for what ſhould we aſk, if we believe he has impoſed on himſelf ſuch total Unconcern about human Events? It ſhould be therefore, well diſtinguiſhed, that it is to the *actual Detail only*, he is ſaid to be inſenſible, by no Means, to the good or evil Inclinations produced by them on the Mind; and it muſt neceſſarily follow, that as theſe

Effects

Effects are now the ſole Objects of this Contemplations reſpecting the rational Inhabitants of the Earth; if, upon a *retroſpect* View, (which may very conſiſtently be allowed,) he perceives the ſteady Purſuit of Virtue, and the ardent Requeſt of Abilities to accompliſh whatever is generous and laudable, to have uniformly influenced the Prayers and Actions of any Man; ſuch Prayer, and *ſuch only*, far from being indifferent, *may* in the End induce his God, even to accept him as he is, and ſatisfied with the Trial he has already ſtood*, confirm him, with

* Leaſt they, whoſe Intereſt it might be, to pervert and puzzle the plain Doctrines of Reaſon, ſhould, hereafter, wreſt this Paſſage into the viſionary Idea of *Methodiſtical Grace*: it may be right to obſerve that, the Confirmation here alluded to, is but, what every Man of incorruptible Integrity muſt be ſenſible of, *when*, by a perſevering Cultivation of the Habits of Rectitude and *Propriety*, he has at length contracted, both a Facility in diſtinguiſhing, and a Zealous Attachment to the Obſervance of their Dictates. He may be then ſaid, compleatly to poſſeſs the *mens ſibi conſcia recti*. As Virgil comprehenſively terms that luxurious Senſation.—Nothing is more difficult than to be, either daring, generous, frugal, abſtemious, or even devout, *with Propriety*.

Eſt modus in rebus ſunt certi denique fines,
Quos ultra, citraque, nequit conſiſtere rectum.

Uſeleſs Auſterities, are as unreaſonable as they are unnatural, and in lieu of conciliating the Approbation of the Deity, are but

with his future Aſſiſtance, in that Pitch of Virtue, to which, by his former meritorious Perſeverance he had nobly wrought himſelf; nor can ſuch Protection to be in any Sort

but a miſtaken Rejection of his Bounties.—The moſt exalted Virtue is perfectly conſiſtent with the liberal Indulgence of every pleaſing Senſe, provided it be grateful and *rational*, and that, in its Proceſs or Procurement, we trangreſs not the awful Laws of Nature, that we offend not againſt thoſe of our Country, that we ſhock not the *approved Maxims* of Society, nor, by the prodigal Abuſe of ſenſual Pleaſures, ultimately enervate either Body or Mind.—He who acts in *ſuch* ſtrict Conformity to theſe Rules, as to reſiſt every Temptation (however alluring) that might tend to infringe them, and who, with *the Good of Mankind ever foremoſt in his View*, is at all Times ready, (whatever Riſque, Privation, or Self-Denial it might involve) to impart to his Fellow-Creatures, ſuch Services as, in ſimilar Circumſtances, he would, himſelf wiſh for, or would applaud in any other Individual;—that Man, I deem, unequivocally *accepted*: for he is effectually *confirmed* in the acknowledged Requiſites—BENEVOLENCE AND FORTITUDE.—As the pleaſing Proſpect of a Futurity, cannot fail of exciting theſe Feelings, a thorough Conviction and Reliance upon the Equity of God, cannot be too Zealouſly inculcated. But—if it *could poſſibly* conſiſt with the Frailty of our Nature, for any Man (without ſuch Proſpect or Reliance) to act, *invariably*, up to the above Rules; I will not heſitate to ſay, that, far from extenuating, it would even enhance the Merit of ſuch a Phœnix!—The Exiſtence of ſo very extraordinary a Character, is but too unlikely for it ever to injure the Cauſe of true Religion, although this Statement of the *Caſe*, ſufficiently illuſtrates the groſs Abſurdity, of annexing *excluſive Merit*, to the involuntary Act of *mere* Belief.

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deemed incompatible with the moſt rigid Tenets of Free-Will and fair Probation, ſince it relates only to the *Morals* of one *already approved*, and whoſe Removal would indeed (if not the mere Effect of Time and common Accident) be an Infringement of the Doctrine; Prayer confirms and ſtrengthens the Love of Rectitude, as it *implies* a Witneſs, and a Judge of the Action, whoſe Accompliſhment is required; for although it be unnoticed in *preſent*, it is ſurely reſerved with all its Motives, to infallible Scrutiny in *Future*.

Thankſgiving is alſo acceptable, as it implies Content and Gratitude to the Beſtower of all Things; for, as was obſerved before (though 'tis a Truth often impenetrable to our Philoſophy) it is probable that nothing was made in vain; and in fact there are few Objects or Occurrences, from which uſeful Experience and Benefit may not be collected; as, the moſt efficacious Medicines from Poiſons, Prudence from Caſualties, and from every Evil Patience.

FINIS.

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APPENDIX
TO THE
TENTH TRACT.

THE ENDEAVOUR TO PROVE THAT REASON IS ALONE SUFFICIENT TO THE FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION, was written fourteen Years ago. And tho' there is nothing in that Tract, that the Author wiſhes to alter: yet, to thoſe who have not ſo much reflected on this important Subject, as he has done, the following Appendix will more fully explain many Parts of it.

He ever deemed it unworthy to trifle or to ſpeak equivocally, in Matters ſo truly ſerious. And, as little can be *here* wreſted by Miſinterpretation, the Reader will have, likewiſe, few eſſential Omiſſions to regret.—Should it convince but one Score in the preſent Generation, its Succeſs may perchance be largely multiplied in the next: for, it is calculated, at leaſt, to *maintain* its Ground. Since no Man whoſe Mind is once well im-

preſſed with rational Truth, can poſſibly be wild enough to re-attach himſelf to Myſtery. And, ſhould it ever in future, be happily adopted by Higher Powers; as, the Defence of Truth, will alter little in our Style, ſo I truſt, that to a Briton, it will ever appear as honourable, and ſurely, as conſiſtent with Candor, as, the Defence of Faith.

APPENDIX

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TO THE

TENTH TRACT.

IT was the Obſervation of a liberal Reaſoner, on his Peruſal of the above Tract, tho' not apparently in Objection to it; that a general Conformity to ſome eſtabliſhed Mode of Worſhip, was, at leaſt *politically* neceſſary.—I readily declare my ſincere Concurrence in that Opinion: Nothing indeed, that I have ever written on this intereſting Subject, can be any how wreſted to militate againſt it.

But, does it therefore follow, that we ſhould wretchedly ſubmit to the very worſt of Tyranny; and that the human Mind ſhould be *univerſally* fettered and debaſed by an humiliating and forced Acquieſcence with Tenets, even glaringly abſurd; Tenets which, if its Speculations have been liberal, and its natural Powers in any Degree exerted, it cannot but be ſeriouſly ſhocked with. I ſay univerſally, for theſe Reflections are generally addreſſed,

and apply equally to every Country. Can any Man? for Inſtance, when he perceives, that *altho'* religious Creeds are almoſt as infinitely diverſified, and even oppoſite, as the very Climates in which they are adopted; they are yet! alike abſurdly enjoined, both as authentickly conveying the reverend Precepts of Infallibility, and as the myſterious Objects of implicit Faith. Can any Man, I ſay, reaſonably impreſſed with the eternal Conſiſtency of a juſt Deity, reflect on this, and not commiſerate the depraved Condition of Humanity?

Eſtabliſh your Religion, Nothing is, either morally or politically more expedient: but, let it be ſuch, as may be both preached and received without a Bluſh: ſuch, as againſt the moſt diſcerning Sceptic, may be defended on Principles of Probability and Candor. And, tho' its practical Duties may ultimately require the Enforcement of the civil Power, in the Promulgation of its Doctrines, avoid every appearance of Coertion, ſave ſuch as is implied, in the faireſt and moſt temperate Argument.—Enthrall and welcome the Minds of your People; to be the Slave of Reaſon is a reſpectable State of Vaſſallage: but, in the

mild

mild Proceſs of that glorious Achievement, let the Agency of Minds only be employed; ingenuous Minds, ſcrupulouſly and ſtanchly trained to the purſuit of Virtue. Your divine Supremacy will be then, without Reproach, and even Philoſophy ſhall applaud your Triumph.—Intimidate you may, and ſilence, by other Means, but none elſe will *convince*, and permanently retain your intellectual Empire.

Remember too, that thoſe you would convince, are moulded of the ſame Materials with yourſelves, that their Paſſions and their Intereſts are actuated by the ſame Impulſe: that if properly and gradually habituated, their Intellects are alike capable of juſt Impreſſions. And tho' their plain unſophiſticated Senſe, indignantly revolts at your fruitleſs Endeavours to impoſe *that* on them, which yourſelves cannot explain, but are wretchedly reduced to declare myſterious, and above the Reach of Reaſon! yet would their honeſt diſcerning Minds, however lingringly loath to diſtruſt that Reaſon, which you on other Occaſions, ſo ſuperiorly affect, gladly incline their well diſpoſed Attention, to the *intelligible* Suggeſtions of ſimple Argument.

If then, inſtead of ſhocking their Underſtandings with unmeaning and unavailing Miracles, you would direct their Minds to the *really uſeful* Contemplations of ſuch, as, tho' in the ſupremeſt Degree tranſcended, are yet, actually and viſibly exiſting. And, commencing with the well connected Dependence, and cheerful Harmony of the STUPENDOUS WHOLE, and with diſcriminating Attention pointing out to them, the infinite, yet permanently invariable Detail of God's Creation, you would by *progreſſive Conſequence* prove to them the indiſputable Exiſtence, the Omnipotence, the Independence, the infallible Preciſion, the *fairly deducible* Juſtice of the Deity. And by regular Concluſion and honeſt Inference, the well-grounded Probability of his rewarding that Virtue, which he muſt of Neceſſity delight in.—If you would further, from their own mutual Commerce and relative Dependence on each other, prove to them, the material Advantages of cultivating its general Practice, and the inevitable Danger they muſt themſelves incur, by a ſavage Neglect of it in their Companions. Can there be a doubt with any One, in the leaſt acquainted with the human

man Heart, but that, flattered with their own quick and eaſy Comprehenſion of a religious Syſtem, founded on a regular Chain of ſuch clear and pleaſing Truths. And plainly diſcovering that Myſtery and Impoſition were at length diſcarded; the Moderate would be ſtruck and engaged by its extenſive Utility, the Devout and Sanguine, warmed and in love with Virtue.

Nor need we toil for its genuine Deſcription, or travel through Lybia's ſandy Deſarts to invoke the Oracle, as the far more inſpired Cato, with manly Steadineſs obſerved; when, nobly turning from the Porch of Jove's unexplored Temple, he peremptorily rejected, *as ſuperfluous*, the proffered Precepts of Ammon's Prieſteſs.—Both Brutus and himſelf were already perfect in Paths of Virtue, for they had long, and indeviably trod them: exemplary in every Action of a toilſome Life, except the laſt: ſo, juſt is Solon's memorable *Dictum!* nor, (had the Idea of Probation, once entered their virtuous Minds) would they ſo raſhly have aſſerted their own Competency to conclude their *worldly Trial* finiſhed. Nor, by the precipitate Diſpoſal of a *Chance*, ſo dearly

purchaſed, would they have, *virtually*, renounced their well-grounded Title to the Immortal Prize.

Far however, very far be it from me, to paſs illiberal Cenſures on the reſpected Memory of ſuch truely exalted Characters. Their laſt unhappy Act, tho' blindly deſperate, was the approved Practice of their Country. Yet, I think Cæſar, with all the Failings invidiouſly aſcribed to him, would, in no Condition have followed it: *his* Spirit was above Deſpair, the Reſources of his Mind inexhauſtible. The unhappy, devoted Brutus knew him well, but he was too noble to admit evaſive palliating Diſtinctions, to act or to conſent were to him equally diſtreſſing, and when he aimed his Poniard at the Heart, he both admired and loved; it was himſelf, his Gratitude, his every Comfort that he renounced, and ſtoically ſacrifized, to what he deemed his Duty.

But, without being reſtrained by ſo excuſable a Partiality, I will continue my Digreſſion; if an Inquiry ſo intimately relating to an important moral Duty, can be ſo termed: and, upon the Principle abovementioned, I will endeavor, with *ſufficient Auſterity*, ſummarily,

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to inveſtigate the moral Error of an Action, but too familiar to my Countrymen, and which has been yet! ſo ably defended by the juſtly celebrated *Monteſquieu*, that his ſeventy-ſixth *Perſian Letter*, on that dangerous Subject, remains as is ſuppoſed, to this Day unanſwered.

He opens this intereſting Defence, with ſome ſevere Cenſures on the Injuſtice of *Poſthumous* Perſecution. He then proceeds to reprobate the Iniquity of a Law, which would cruelly wreſt from an unhappy Mortal, oppreſſed with Diſeaſe, Contempt, and Deſpair; the only remaining Remedy which his Misfortunes had left him. He bewails the Hardſhip of being reluctantly held to the Service of a Society, that he is anxiouſly deſirous to quit, and to the Obſervance of a Contract that he never originally conſented to. He aſſerts, that, if the Laws of Society are founded on the Proſpect of mutual Advantage, he is undoubtedly juſtified in renouncing them, when they are become, *to him*, burthenſome. That Life, having been beſtowed as a Benefit, he is ſurely at liberty to lay it down, when it ceaſes to be a Benefit. That the Deity, can never differ ſo widely from every other Benefactor,

as

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to

to inveſtigate the moral Error of an Action, but too familiar to my Countrymen, and which has been yet! ſo ably defended by the juſtly celebrated *Monteſquieu*, that his ſeventy-ſixth *Perſian Letter*, on that dangerous Subject, remains as is ſuppoſed, to this Day unanſwered.

He opens this intereſting Defence, with ſome ſevere Cenſures on the Injuſtice of *Poſthumous* Perſecution. He then proceeds to reprobate the Iniquity of a Law, which would cruelly wreſt from an unhappy Mortal, oppreſſed with Diſeaſe, Contempt, and Deſpair; the only remaining Remedy which his Misfortunes had left him. He bewails the Hardſhip of being reluctantly held to the Service of a Society, that he is anxiouſly deſirous to quit, and to the Obſervance of a Contract that he never originally conſented to. He aſſerts, that, if the Laws of Society are founded on the Proſpect of mutual Advantage, he is undoubtedly juſtified in renouncing them, when they are become, *to him*, burthenſome. That Life, having been beſtowed as a Benefit, he is ſurely at liberty to lay it down, when it ceaſes to be a Benefit. That the Deity, can never differ ſo widely from every other Benefactor,

as

as to enforce the Acceptance and expect the Retention of ſuch Gifts, as muſt involve eventual Wretchedneſs.—I am told, he ſays, that if I releaſe my ſuffering Spirit from that Body to which God has united it, I both reſiſt him, and diſturb the Order of his Providence, yet! that if I level Mountains, or change the Courſe of Rivers, no ſuch Diſturbance is implied.—How am I to reconcile ſuch abſurd Contradictions? will that Part of me which is material, when converted into a blade of Graſs, a Worm, or any other natural Production, to the Nouriſhment of which it may, *in its Turn*, have contributed, be an Object leſs intereſting or extraordinary? and, for my Soul, will it not, when freed from its terreſtrial Encumbrance, inſtantly be purer and more ſublime?

Nothing but our Pride could have ſuggeſted ſuch Inconſiſtencies, we ſo vainly over-rate our own Importance, as to infer the Poſſibility of a Derangement in the vaſte Chain of Providence by the irregular Diſpoſal of ſo important a Link!!! nor will that Pride permit us to reflect, that, even the great Globe which we inhabit (if brought into Compariſon with the unnumbered Worlds that float in the Infinity

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of Space) is but as a Drop in the unfathomable Ocean.—And, for one of its miſerable Inhabitants (amidſt the ceaſeleſs and jarring Accidents of Nature) neither could his Diſſolution, nor its Cauſe be perceptible, but for the unbounded Comprehenſion of Omnipotence.

Though it was as unneceſſary as it might have proved unſucceſsful, to attempt the ornamental Parts of the noble Preſident's Letter, I thought it but juſt to ſet down the eſſential Heads of his ingenious Argument, in as ſtrong Language as I was able. And, it will, I believe, appear, that they are in *themſelves* ſuch ſtubborn Truths, as to be combated with Advantage, on no *fair* Principle, but of *Probation*. As the Letter is written in a borrowed Name, I will in that, at leaſt, follow its Author: and gladly commit my Arguments, againſt the Raſhneſs of theſe virtuous Republicans, to the Conduct of the renowned Athenian, upon whoſe moral and comprehenſive FINEM RESPICE, they are in a great Meaſure grounded.

Solon then, I will preſume, might firſt, in nearly his own memorable Words, have told them, that, independent of its being premature, their Raſhneſs had clearly rendered their worldly

worldly Trial incompleat.—That further, if they were ſincerely ſolicitous of *heaping* the Meaſure of their Fortitude, their laſt Act, was as inconſiſtent as it was raſh, ſince, it palpably implied their having declined a Conflict, which they ſhould (on that Principle) even have courted: but, to which they ſeemed, alas! very unequal: it was with their own overbearing Pride.—That to ſeek in Death, a poor Aſylum againſt the Contumely, or even the humiliating Virtues of their reſpective Conquerors, was unworthy of that Reputation which they weakly feared to outlive.—That in Circumſtances ſimilar to theirs, the truely noble Mind (indefatigable in its Exertions) turns every Occurence to its Advantage. And, Oppreſſion itſelf might have adminiſtered the Means of ſhewing their unconquerable Spirit. —That their Predeceſſor Varo, even after the dreadful Overthrow of Cannœ, was above *deſpairing of the Republic*.—That Self-deſtruction, was the miſerable Reverſe of genuine Fortitude; which, conſiſting, in ſteady Self-denial, unregretting Loſs, or generous Alienaton, patient Endurance, and active Reſource: it put a *churliſh* End to the poſſible Exertion

of

of either, as they might in Future, reſpectively have ſerved their glorious Cauſe.—That they had already, indiſputably, great *acquired Merit*, but, that, as at their Age, it was ſtill ſuſceptible of large Acceſſion, ſo it was likewiſe (from the fallibility of our Nature) ſubject to conſiderable Dimunition.—That *Probation, therefore, can be conſummate, only, by involuntary Death.* —That if it were otherwiſe, every noviciate Enthuſiaſt, weary of the Auſterities he had for a Time perſiſted in, would gladly preclude the Poſſibility of a vicious Lapſe, and cunningly precipitate that Period, which ſhould reward his mercenary Fortitude.—And finally, that, our Exiſtence being probably committed to us, as a beneficial *Chance* in the great Lottery of Providence: ſubject to the endleſs Accidents of Good and Ill that it is chequered with, the Ballance of the firſt being largely in our Favor, but, dependent on the free *Deciſion* and Diſpoſal of our Reaſon, which, though unequally cultivated by Individuals, yet, *from the aggregate Experience, Obſervation, and Contribution of Ages, amply ſuffizing to the above Inferences, and to every moral Rule of Conduct: if (with ſuch Means of Information)* weary or diſ-

diſcontented with an Exiſtence, committed to us on this implied Condition; we violently part with it. We by that raſh Act, obviouſly diſpoſe of our *Chance*, give up the Conteſt, and wretchedly relinquiſh every Title to that immortal Prize, which was the propoſed Object of its ſucceſsful Concluſion.

The Congency of theſe Arguments, I readily ſubmit to the Determination of the diſprejudiced Reader. But, if he admits that they are employed with the leaſt Colour of Effect, in the Arraignment of two ſuch diſtinguiſhed Characters, ſanctified, as they truly were, with every Virtue that unremitted Perſeverance could poſſibly accumulate, during the toilſome Period of their *unfiniſhed* Lives. I may, I think, without Hazard aſſert their Prevalence, when pointed againſt the Raſhneſs of ſuch ordinary, unhollowed Individuals as, on the firſt ſerious Loſs or Diſappointment, unreſtrained by that awful dread of Diſſolution, *providentially implanted in us by the eternal Law*, and, unfurniſhed with a ſingle Plea of *acquired Merit*, heedleſſly ruſh into the Abyſs of Futurity. Either, under a fooliſh Confidence in the abuſed Benignity of their God,

or

or madly daring the offended Juſtice of his Tribunal.

The Offence of theſe however, if it eternally renounces Hope, involves its own Puniſhment, and would at any Rate be, relatively venial, for it is themſelves they injure, and often, through *involuntary* Ignorance. But, for the ſelfiſh Authors of that Ignorance, who, not contented with the arrogant Suppreſſion of ſuch important Enquiries, have wretchedly invalidated the moral Precepts even of their own Doctrines, by connecting them with abſurd Miracles and ſupernatural Revelations. For theſe I ſay, when conſidered as the blaſphemous Inventors of Fictions, derogatory to the Conſiſtency of an impartial God; the rooted Miſchiefs they have actually circulated, and the good they have virtually prohibited, in impudently daring to ſilence the intellectual Faculties, leaſt by the Advancement of Knowledge their vile Impoſtures ſhould be detected, have been too atrocious in their Conſequences and too ſeriouſly extenſive, either to expect or to deſerve Forgiveneſs.

Nor can the moral Doctrines that have ſpeciouſly accompanied their Impoſtures (although in

in themſelves politically beneficial) in any conſiderable Degree extenuate their Guilt; for, that they were annexed to theſe Impoſtures, with the ſole View of craftily enſuring their falſe Currency with the Unwary and their Protection with the Powerful, is but too evident; ſince, in moſt religious Inſtitutions, however diſperſed and varied, the *impoſed Idea* of true Piety, is ſo excluſively veſted in the implicit Belief of its reſpective Myſteries, as to declare the moſt benevolent and perſevering Practice of moral Duties, ſo totally unavailing, as not to be even expiatory, without it!

For the indiſputable Truth of this, without needing the ſavage Examples of Saracen Tyranny and Barbarity, we have but to revert to the early Years of the ſixteenth Century, and ſhudder at the brutal Cruelties perpetrated in the moſt enlightened Parts of Europe, *againſt the moſt exemplary and deſerving of its Subjects*. Nor were the Objects of theſe human Sacrifices to holy Vengeance! charged with profeſſed Innovation, or even with *openly* aſſerting their Diſbelief of what was ſoon after, by Authority declared abſurd, but cruelly enſnared by the wanton Treachery of *enforced* Anſwers, to in-

intrapping Queſtions. *Tantum Religio potuit ſuadere malorum.*

It is impoſſible, without bluſhing for the pernicious Prieſtcraft, and the contented Imbecility of our fellow Creatures, to reflect, that in one large Moiety of Europe, theſe very Myſteries, (on which no leſs than our eternal Salvation is ſaid to depend) leaſt they ſhould be any how penetrable to Senſe, are actually, to this Day, practiſed in a dead, and *generally* unknown Language! and that in the other Half, it is little more than two Centuries ſince ſuch diſgraceful Abſurdities were aboliſhed, at the Expence of Torrents of Blood!

That Toleration is even thus far advanced, and with it (to a certain Degree) the Emancipation of human Reaſon, is ſurely a pleaſing Reflection, but, till the trite Subterfuge of Prejudice be totally exploded, 'till religious Myſteries, ceaſe to be pedantically impoſed as the Objects *ſolely* of implicit Belief, 'till ſome Code, in ſhort, ſhall be agreed on, that in whatever Country, may ſtand the Teſt of Argument, independently of Miracle or Revelation: neither will your Doctrines be freed from the well-grounded Sarcaſms of Sceptics, and the

Neglect that muſt conſequently follow, nor can Reaſon be ſaid, compleatly to have emerged from her Captivity.

Make your Religion reſpectable, and it will be invariably reſpected, if you wiſh it to ſink deep, and to take ſteady Root, found it on the broad Baſis of rational Argument. So far from its being *then*, obnoxious to Schiſm, it *muſt* in Time obtain, even Univerſality. But, in its preſent State, by what *candid* Criterion ſhall the true One be acknowledged; the Teſt of Miracles, will, with equal Plauſibility, be claimed by all. For, Nothing can be more unreaſonable than to expect, that, amidſt the endleſs Catalogue of Myſteries and Miracles aſcribed to impious Prophets and to pretended Deities, any ſhould fooliſhly give Place to other.—Each being alike unfounded in Reaſon, its *intereſted Protectors* will be equally tenacious, and equally entitled to perſiſt in the enforcement of Belief to its reſpective Impoſtures.

But, further to aſſert the Competency of my *former* Arguments for the *Religion of Reaſon*, and more explicitly to illuſtrate many of thoſe Truths on which they were founded; I will

will beg Leave to obſerve that; if, in the endleſsly diverſified Detail of God's terreſtrial Creation, we find the Qualities and Functions peculiar to each Article, diſcriminated and allotted with unerring Aptneſs and Preciſion. And, if raiſing our Contemplations to the brilliant Firmament, Nothing is diſcoverable in the extenſive Progreſs of the vaſt planetary Syſtem, (even to the Eye of ſcrupulous Inveſtigation) but, ſtill unerring Majeſty and truely providental Exactitude.—No incongruous Aſſortments in the Whole, no Glimps of Accident, the *Means ever accurately proportioned to the End.* Are we not fully juſtified in believing? That, that noble Faculty by which *only* we ſeem in any Eminence to be diſtinguiſhed, was, excluſively imparted to *us*, for the expreſs Purpoſe of that Enquiry of all others the moſt intereſting.

Truth muſt of Force be uniform and every where the ſame. The juſt Deity therefore, ever conſiſtent in the Propriety of his Allotments (far from leaving us dependent on the Locality of our Birth for myſterious and diſcordant Preſcriptions of Faith and Conduct. Or negligently ſubjecting our Proſpects of Futu-

rity, to the precarious Chance of mere Contingencies) evidently has deſtined our Reaſon, and with full Sufficiency adapted it to the Diſcovery of moral Truth. And, as it is of all Objects, the moſt important, even, to our preſent Wellfare: its Search, likewiſe, ſhould be of all others the moſt unprejudiced and free.

It muſt of Neceſſity follow, that as the Means, and Habits of ſteady Reaſoning, can be contracted only by Experience and Analogie; the Admiſſion of any other Rule in the Proceſs of ſo ſerious an Enquiry, would be prepoſterous. If then to expect our Belief of that which ſhocks our Underſtanding, is, in a human Being tyrannical; to ſuppoſe it the Injunction of a benign Deity, (however revealed) would ill conſiſt with that Rectitude, which we perceive in every Inſtance to be inſeparable from the other Eſtabliſhments of his Creation. And conſequently, that, to debaſe the Mind by the vain Enforcement of Acquieſcence with whatever abſurd Myſteries, the local Accident of our Birth may have obtruded, is as repugnant to human Reaſon, as to any juſt or liberal or rational Idea of the Deity.

By

By obvious Inferences, fairly reſulting from the Contemplation of his Works, theſe Reflections, with thoſe they follow and *allude* to, *naturally* have flowed. They tend, I very ſincerely believe, to the Eſtabliſhment of that Truth which is the important Object of our Purſuit. Their Conſiſtency with what they, throughout, profeſs, is no inconſiderable Proof of it. For, the ſame Objects if conſidered with the ſame unprejudiced Integrity, will, (to *every reaſoning Mind)* invariably ſuggeſt the ſame Concluſions.

On the other Hand, were *ſupernatural* Inſtructions neceſſary, or, were any thing beſides *Probation* meant, *(for which Purpoſe only, Reaſon could have been imparted to us)* it had been more compendious, more expediently conſiſtent with the Benignity of Providence, and (if we may judge by the *inſtinctive Republics)* certainly, more productive of civil Advantages, to have endowed us, with Something analogous to that unerring Inſtinct, ſo bountifully allotted to all the animal Creation excepting Man.

But, as Inſtinct, muſt have involved *Infallibility*, it would have, of Force, precluded the

poſſible Exiſtence of *acquired Merit*. As would, likewiſe, Revelation, if, *often repeated, univerſal, and uniform.*

The Diſcordance of Revelations is ſufficiently notorious, and as that Diſcordance neceſſarily involves their *general* Falſity. To diſcover the Orthodox (if its Exiſtence were compatible with the Conſiſtency of the *apparent* Maxims of the Deity) would be a Duty, indiſpenſibly incumbent on every Individual.

If it were poſſible then, for the Education of each, to be unprejudiced, the Language of the whole World the ſame, and our Minds unremittingly employed in the Endeavor to diſcriminate among the numberleſs Myſteries and Revelations, and to fix, with *Plauſibility*, on that, by which our future Faith and Conduct ſhould be directed: even with theſe *expediting* Advantages, little of our Lives, I fear, would be remaining for its Practice. And if this tedious Taſk be omitted, our Rule of Faith and Conduct, evidently is left to the mere local Accident of our Birth.—Yet, in the Face of this! are REASONABLE BEINGS *every where* enjoined, *implicitly* to believe; and, what is, if poſſible, ſtill more incomprehenſible,

henſible, this abſurd Injunction has hitherto ſuperſeded the intrinſic Merit of exemplary Morals, and the obvious Truths of Rational Argument!

I cannot then, but zealouſly repeat (what theſe Arguments ſeem almoſt to demonſtrate) the univerſal Expediency of totally exploding all Admiſſion of ſuch diſcordant and impious Myſteries. And of *mildly and gradually*, inculcating the Contemplation *only* of that ſtupendous One, which is manifeſt to every reflecting Man, in the unerring Progreſs of God's Creation. And from which (teeming as it does with *natural* Suggeſtions, clearer than ever Oracle delivered, both of moral and religious *Inferences,)* if ſome Code were drawn, ſuch as, being truely conſonant to human Reaſon, could not but be every where admiſſible: As it would amply furniſh the ſoundeſt Arguments for future Rewards, and, at leaſt, *privatory* Puniſhments, which might, by the ſecular Arm be more *beneficially* realized on Earth. And as it would be *naturally* productive of a Religious Creed, congenially reconcilable to that Reaſon on which it had been grounded: it could not fail of cultivating ſuch

Habits, as muſt deſerve the Approbation of the Deity by whoſe own eternal Ordonances they were ſuggeſted. And ſoon ſubſtituting the term of Virtuous, for that of Bigot, it would equally entitle us to the Love and the Regard of our fellow Citizens. For as *Junius* wiſely has obſerved, by *really* informing the Underſtanding, you effectually correct and enlarge the Heart.

Before I conclude this Appendix, it will not be quite foreign to its Intent, *generally* to enquire into the probable Source of thoſe impious Myſteries, which, though they have ſo long checked the voice of Reaſon, and ſo profanely ſuperſeded every Object of true Piety; have yet, obtained, and to this Day retain, the impoſing Epithet of Sacred!—I will then, (with all due Deference to the poetical Idea of the *accompliſhed* Eve) ſuppoſe the human Race newly emerged from their original, truely Savage State: and thoſe natural *Aptitudes* to Reaſon, with which Omnipotence had excluſively endowed them, juſt beginning to be developed by the late, but happy Dawnings of articulate Speech, which the Deſire of communicating their Wants and their Perceptions, would

would (as was ordained) of Neceſſity, in Time, produced.

At this auſpicious Period, when we were firſt, fairly entitled to the Diſtinction of Rational; I will further ſuppoſe, that even to Intellects, yet, but in the Bud; as the tranſcendent Brilliancy and the majeſtic Progreſs of the great Sun, by Day, and of thoſe leſſer Glories of the Firmament, by Night, with the periodical Return of Seaſons, and other Objects of Amazement, could not but ſuggeſt (at leaſt to the more Forward) the implied Exiſtence of a SUPREME DIRECTOR; ſo, the tremendous Phænomena often attendent on the lowering Elements, could not but, at Times, engender Fear. And as Timidity ſeems to be one of thoſe inſtinctive Impulſes, which, as indiſpenſibly neceſſary to the Perpetuation of the Species, during, at leaſt, the *Infancy* of Reaſon, was, with ſome others, providentially implanted (even) in the human Mind: it ſoon furniſhed an Advantage to the aſpiring Hopes of the crafty and intrepid Few: Who, by firſt, perhaps, engaging to deprecate the wrathful Thunders of the Deity, encouraged by an Appearance of Succeſs, and by the intereſted Protection

tection of the more Robuſt; ſoon contrived, from the Suggeſtions of Accident, improved by Cunning, to fabricate ſuch Myſteries, as at once fixed their own Credit, and tended in ſome Degree to enthral the deluded Multitude.

In this Condition (which ſuppoſes the *Origin* of Prieſtcraft, nearly coeval with the Beginnings of Society) ſtill more firmly to eſtabliſh Impoſture, we may ſuppoſe theſe unexperienced Nations, to have been invaded or over-reached, either by the ſuperior Force or Skill of ſturdy Emigrants from their more enlightened Neighbours; who, by the Arts they introduced, and from theſe uncommon Powers, both of Mind and Body, which prompted and ſupported their Enterprizes, with the pliant Concurrence of the ſacred Miniſters they had ſecured, eaſily impoſed the Belief even of their own Divinity. Hence, evidently the Origin of many Gods among the Heathens. The Deſcendents of theſe, could not fail to furniſh many more: and the adulatory Apotheoſis of Heroes, merely as ſuch, was alone a fertile Source.

For the endleſs Variety of Impoſtures and of their Myſteries, whatever is deficient in the heathen

heathen Mythology, will be amply ſupplied by the Diſcoveries of latter Ages; which will likewiſe contribute ſufficiently to prove, that the Appeal on theſe Occaſions, has invariably been to the Fears and to the Credulity of their Converts; to the total Excluſion of every Argument drawn from Reaſon.

To enumerate their Oracles, and to recount the coſtly Offerings by which their equivocating Prieſts were made the venal Inſtruments of Policy, would be ſuperfluous. All theſe, however, in their Tendency, were innocent, nay, laudable, when we compare them with the inhuman Ravages begun under the Saracen Banners, and continued with ſuch brutal Bigotry by their *meek* Opponents, for the *ſole* Glory of their reſpective Gods, and under the abſurd Plea of Infallibility on both Sides.—'Till that diſgraceful Period, every Nation had been contented with the ſnug Cultivation of its own Errors. Nor had the forcible Obtruſion of them upon Mankind, been yet made the ſacriligious Plea for every Species of Murder and univerſal Devaſtation.—The Defence even of their miſerable Schiſms! has coſt more Blood, than went, probably, to the Conqueſt of

of the World, and to the Eſtabliſhment of the great Roman Empire.

That thoſe, now, contemptibly occupying its regal Seat, ſhould have been for many Centuries employed in miſerably methodizing Impoſture, for the baſe Purpoſes of Intereſt, and even Traffic; is leſs to be wondered at, when we reflect on the *Extravagance* of their Views, and when we conſider the Depravity and Imbecility of Mankind to be ſuch, that even the Diſtance our Iſland is removed from them, has not been ſufficient to preſerve ſome of our unguarded Sovereigns, from the meaneſt Submiſſions to their *truly ridiculous* Authority!

That their more active Succeſſors had Spirit and Addreſs enough to break their Fetters, was but little Conſolation to their Subjects, ſince by availing themſelves of a Power whoſe Force they had experienced, and by the terrific Influence of their Prieſts, armed with the *real* Power of the Law, they ultimately uſurped nearly abſolute Monarchy.

Should even this fail to account for the pertinacious Defence of Myſtery; the rapacious Influence of its ancient Miniſters, over both the Living and the *Dying*, is ſtill too viſible in

in its Effects, not to enforce the moſt entire Conviction. For it will be very difficult, independent of Tythes, to find three contiguous Pariſhes in this extenſive Kingdom, in one of which the Church has not to this Day a conſiderable Share.

But, in the preſent Times, when the Laws of Subordination are too firmly eſtabliſhed to need the wretched Influence of Prieſts, or of their Myſteries; it appears aſtoniſhing that no Man has been virtuous and liberal enough, to remove the diſgraceful Bandage from the intellectual Eyes of his deluded Brethren, and *artleſſly* to demonſtrate to them, the undoubted Reſources of plain Argument in Matters of ſuch ſerious and univerſal Importance.

I am ready to acknowledge that a religious Syſtem founded on mere Principles of Reaſon, (however ſound the Baſis) would have two dangerous *Oppoſites* to ſtruggle with. For, what can be more diametrically ſo, than prejudiced Bigotry and intereſted Hypocriſy? For the Latter, though in itſelf beneath the Notice of Candor, yet, as the Band is numerous, and as it is actuated by ſo powerful a Motive, Nothing I fear but their Admiſſion upon the ſame Terms of

Intereſt

Intereſt they now ſtand on, could any how conciliate their Concurrence in a Doctrine they cannot but believe, and might with far better Conſcience teach. But, for the Firſt, however ſeriouſly worthy of Pity, they are but too formidable. For though its Votaries often are, on many other Topics, both learned and liberal, yet, are they ſo totally under the Influence of the erroneous Principle they are *poſſeſſed* with; that, preciſely analogous to Mr. Locke's Definition of the ingenious Madman, who firmly believing himſelf of Glaſs, would exert every Faculty of a fertile Genius in the Protection of his brittle Frame, with equal Talents, though not with equal Temper, will they deſperately defend their bigotted Opinions.

The very Nature of that Principle, on which the Religion of Reaſon is founded, though perfectly calculated to *maintain* its Ground, yet, with ſuch Adverſaries! could not but impede its Progreſs. Since, every *pious Fraud*, (however dangerouſly admitted by the beſt meaning Caſuiſts,) muſt be *here*, ſcrupulouſly avoided: and, for Compulſion, even in the moſt equivocal Senſe, Nothing could leſs

conſiſt

conſiſt with that free Election of Reaſon which is propoſed.

But, tho' it is certainly poſſible to be an exemplary Member of Society, nay, even to merit the Approbation and Reward of a juſt Deity, by the unremitting Practice of Virtue, from *merely* happy Inclinations, liberally cultivated. Yet, as ſuch tranſcendent Examples cannot but be ſcarce: and as the *general* Frailty of Mankind, the Variety of their Diſpoſitions, the accidental Turns and unequal Cultivation of their Intellects, cannot but ſubject the Worthier, to the atrocious Depredations of the Vicious; ſome eſtabliſhed Preventatives both compulſive and conciliatory are indiſpenſibly requiſite.

Laws, preſcriptive of civil Conduct under rigorous Penalties, have, to a certain Degree proved effectual; but, *as every Man weary of his own Life, is perfectly Maſter of another's.* And, as, independent of that, Crimes may often be committed with the Certainty of Concealment, and ſtill oftner under the Proſpect of it. To render our Security ſomewhat leſs precarious; the Aſſiſtance of internal Checks is clearly neceſſary.

Of

Of the two Kinds, I will firſt conſider *that* which is *undoubtedly* of divine Inſtitution; nor (on this Occaſion) is it poſſible to do ſo, without gratefully joining with the enlightened *Monteſquieu*, in Acknowledgments to that *provident* Being, who has benignly implanted in the Breaſt of every Man, ſo eloquent a *Monitor* for our Protection. But, can there be a ſtronger Argument for Probation, than that in the Tumult of the Paſſions (which are its Teſt) even this heavenly* Monitor is often ſilenced; and that *then*, thoſe under the baneful Influence of falſe Caſuiſtry, and pernicious Habits, liſten *only* to the ſelfiſh Dictates of Intereſt.—*Conſcience, if more powerful, had compendiouſly ſecured all earthly Happineſs*; but like Inſtinct, or *any other divine*, infallible Rule, it had as effectually precluded the poſſible *Acquirement* of Merit.

* Tho' I find, on diſprejudiced Inquiry, that *Compaſſion* (which is often miſtaken for *Conſcience*) is not poſſitively *innate*, and that the Latter is (in the above Senſe) *merely* the Reſult of candid Reflection, yet are theſe *Aptitudes* (when once developed and realized by Society into *Habits*) inculcated ſo very early in Life, and ſo generally received, as to be eaſily miſtaken for *inſtinctive* and *providential Implants*.

The

The remaining internal Check, though ſuggeſted by the divineſt Objects, muſt, (as even the laſt Inſtance cogently concurs in pointing out) be *purely human*. It ſhould be conciſe and *demonſtrative*, and ſhould tend to *convince our Reaſon* that, to be virtuous, is eſſentially our Intereſt, and will ſurely be rewarded.—I have ſaid demonſtrative, for mere *Aſſertions* might fail of that Effect.

The following Articles of *Rational Faith*, being plain Concluſions, from unerring Principles; if they were, *at an early Age*, temperately taught to All, and ſteadily inculcated every ſeventh Day, with Explanations *ad hominem* by an able Commentator, could not but confirm and comfort, even the beſt diſpoſed Natures; they would tend to fix the lukewarm, and muſt often reclaim even the Vicious. The Objects they refer to are awfully reſpectable, and the Deductions are (when once ſuggeſted) within the Reach of every Underſtanding—The whole Creed of RATIONAL THEISM tho' perfectly unequivocal, and devoid of Myſtery, is calculated, effectually to militate againſt all poſſible Impoſture.

1. That Nothing can be more clearly manifeſt, than the Exiſtence of the Deity, ſince, both that, and his conſummate Excellence, are every Day loudly aſſerted by *ceaſeleſs Miracles*, in the wonderous Accuracy and infinite Variety of his Works.

2. That the unvarying Identity of the different Species, and the Infallibility of their reſpective Inſtincts, permanently *deride* the wretched Doctrine of Chance: and in Concurrence with the *unerring* Progreſs of the amazing planetary Syſtem, unequivocally proclaim his Love of *Rectitude*.

3. That the *Immenſity and Permanency* of the whole Creation forcibly prove the Omnipotence, and naturally involve the *Incorruptibility* of its Divine Author.

4. That as every Article of it, *excepting Man*, is, apparently, ſubjected to unerring Laws, each ſeems to ſuffice to its allotted Functions, and the Whole to have finally received its Deſtination.

5. That all ſupernatural *Inſtruction* or Agency as relative to human Tranſactions, involve *partiality*, and therefore cannot conſiſt with an in-

independent Being; who muſt of Neceſſity be juſt.

6. That the Idea of Omnipotence, is inſeparable from that of Unity.

7. That we can know of God *only* what is manifeſted in his Works, for, that the Contemplation of Infinite and Eternal, exceeds the Power of limited Faculties.

8. That yet, ſuch of his Attributes as merely relate to us, that is, to our moral Duties, are clearly deducible from his Works, and, from the unerring Laws eternally impoſed upon the animal, the vegetable and the elementary Creation.

9. That *Man only* of the Whole, being endowed with *Reaſon*, is, by that ſole Faculty, *excluſively* inveſted with the Means of *acquiring* Merit. Which can conſiſt only in the free Deciſion and ſteady Execution of what is *laudable*, in Oppoſition to the very beſt Actions of impulſive Inſtinct: which, tho' dirigible by the Reaſon of others, yet evidently preclude all natural Choice.

10. That, as Probation *therefore*, ſeems to be the chief Object of this diſtinguiſhed Faculty, the future Reward of its laudable Exer-

tions, is but conſiſtent with that juſt Deity who has *impoſed* the Trial.

11. That to repine at the Frailty of human Nature, or at the Accidents that await us, even from our Birth, is unjuſt: ſince, the very Eſſence of Probation, involves the alluring Influence of the Paſſions, under the ſole Direction of *Reaſon*, which muſt imply Free-will: in manifeſt Oppoſition to mere brutal Inſtinct; for without the Exiſtence of *worldly Evil*, and ſtrong Temptations to Error, there could have been no Merit in moral Rectitude.

12. That tho' the human Intellect is ſubject to Prejudice and to Diſparity of Cultivation, yet the aggregate Reſult of Knowledge and Experience being open to All, it is the Duty of All to Enquire.

13. That, as local Myſteries and Tenets are merely accidental, and by Conſequence diſcordent, they cannot be productive of any general Rule of Conduct, ſince none can, *juſtly* ſuperſede the other.

14. But that *Reaſon being every where the ſame*, if we argue from eternal and unalterable Principles which are likewiſe univerſal; ſuch Doctrines being every where, equally demonſtrable,

ſtrable, need but the pure Cultivation of Integrity, to be univerſally adopted.

15. That as they *fairly* promiſe future Rewards, to the Votaries of BENEVOLENCE AND FORTITUDE, which Virtues under their different Modifications, include every moral and ſocial Duty, there is *juſt* Reaſon to conclude, they would be univerſally beneficial.

16. That the chief Objects of *Probation* depend on virtuous Action or ſteady Forbearance, as either may reſpectively conduce to civil Benefit, for they are then manifeſtly laudable.—*That*, of *Rational Faith*, to conciliate and excite thoſe Duties, and to confirm our Perſeverance in them. And tho' private Confidence is meritorious; blind Acquieſcence in what ſhocks our Reaſon is an impious Proſtitution of that divine Faculty.

Had I not *unequivocally* written what has occurred to me upon this Subject, I had acted inconſiſtently with my own Principles, for, I have ever freely cenſured thoſe, who inſtead of perſonally and explicitly committing to the World, any valuable Rule or Inference that their Application had been rewarded with, and that they might deem intereſting to Mankind:

have been cautiouſly contented with the bare Mention of their Diſcovery: *Veritatem reticere, aurum eſt ſepelire*,—even Mr. Locke, whom it is almoſt Hereſy to blame in any Thing, had, I think, acted more conſiſtently with his own Character, if, in Lieu of leaving it to Poſterity, he had candidly riſked his Solution of that intricate Problem concerning *Spirit*, which I, formerly, attempted with, perhaps, leſs Conviction to others than to myſelf.—The Negligence of the wiſe and virtuous Socrates, is, in this Reſpect, equally to be regretted; as he would probably have, *himſelf*, tranſmitted to Poſterity far leſs embarraſſed Ideas of thoſe divine Truths which he had been ſo long and earneſtly impreſſed with, as, to deem their Diſcuſſion, worthy even of his laſt Minutes.

But I will venture a ſtill more intereſting Application of this Opinion, and ingenuouſly expreſs my Doubts, if even the Doctrines of Chriſtianity, would not have worn a very different Face, had they been *genuinely* delivered: that is, had they been written by their Author, or at leaſt clearly digeſted by an able One, under his immediate Cognizance. For, if we may be permitted to conclude, from many truely

truely exalted moral Parts of them; a Free Speaker would be tempted to aſcribe, any that were leſs ſo, to the Error of thoſe Writers by whom they were *poſthumouſly* recorded.—Tho' Eye-witneſſes, they had, by their own Accounts, much Want of Faith to expiate, and, under ſuch Circumſtances, might not their indiſcreet Zeal have contributed (by proving too much) to invalidate that Cauſe they had *now earneſtly* engaged in the Support of? How elſe could they poſſibly have recorded as Fact, thoſe Scenes which they evidently could not, in *general*, believe; but, which they expreſſed ſtill more particularly, at a *moſt trying Period!*

For, I will appeal to the moſt Incredulous, even in theſe wonder-working Times, whether, as mere Spectators at the repeated Performance of ſuch *ſerious* Miracles, as are *injudiciouſly* recorded, they could have produced, among themſelves, a Nature ſo perverſe, as to incur the Reproach of even *once wanting Faith*.

What then? ſhall be ſaid in Excuſe of thoſe who (though ſo intimately connected with this aſtoniſhing Perſonage, as actually to have aſſiſted in his moſt private Tranſactions) could yet! *perpetually* merit that Reproach. And could,

in Defiance of common Senſe (for I will wave Gratitude) not only deny, but for the mereſt Trifle betray to Death, a Being of this rare Deſcription, who had ſo deſcended as to aſſociate them into his Friendſhip. What indeed! ſhall be ſaid, and from whom Faith be expected? when One of theſe, is the pre-eminently diſtinguiſhed Apoſtle!

The Anſwer is clear, and is that of Candour. —Had the Writers on whoſe Relation we are *miſerably reduced* to depend, been (in his Life Time) *really* impreſſed with the invaluable Merits of that excellent Perſonage, they would neither have incurred thoſe cutting Reproaches which they have themſelves recorded, nor would they have irrevocably injured both their own Reputation, and the Cauſe of perfect Morality, by the ill judged Relation of ſuch Facts as could no how conſiſt with the One, and were ill-calculated to ſupport the Other.

They would on the contrary, have tranſmitted to Poſterity an artleſs Tale; neither varniſhed over with Myſtery*, nor fatally marred

* The Myſtery of the *real Preſence*, which under the Perverſions of Sophiſtry, has impiouſly brought ſuch Numbers to the Stake,

marred by Miracle. They would *then*, probably have deſcribed a Being, full of penetrating Senſe, Eloquence, Fortitude, Benevolence, and Meekneſs; whoſe Example beſpoke all *poſſible* Imitation, and whoſe Organs ſeemed ſo habitually formed to the Taſk, that, to have believed the Precepts of the Deity, *actually* committed to their Utterance, had been ſo naturally congenial to our Wiſhes, as to be

Stake, is (if the Words of the Laſt Supper are candidly conſidered) ſtrikingly analogous to the Ejaculations of a grateful Philoſopher, in contemplative View of that Bread and Wine, that was about to be *aſſimilated to his own corporeal Frame*; in the ſame Manner as, by gradual, though ſufficiently myſterious Proceſs, his whole Body and Blood had ariſen from, and were *actually* compoſed of, that ſolid and liquid Aliment, of which the Bread and Wine now before him, were but the reſpective Symbols. And of which the Apoſtles could not in Future partake, (as their Maſter ſententiouſly obſerved,) but, *in Remembrance of Him.* At leaſt, if they reflected, with any Gratitude, on that good Cheer, of which, the Society he had long honoured them with, had been ſo often productive.

The ſacred Adminiſtration of Bread and Wine, (*accompanied with grateful Acknowledgments,*) is a Ceremony that might very conſiſtently be *continued* in the Practice of RATIONAL THEISM: As ſymbolically alluding to that *natural*, though aſtoniſhing Myſtery, *Aſſimilation!* and in grateful Teſtimony of the Deity's having benevolently connected the Accretion of our Frame, and the Preſervation of our corporeal Exiſtence, with a Proceſs ſo refreſhing and congenial.

nearly

nearly as reconcilable to Piety, as their Adoption, would have been the indiſpenſible Duty of Reaſon.

Should it be petulently urged, by the wretched Malice of Bigotry and of Hypocriſy; that I am ſacrilegiouſly removing the ſacred Props of Religion. I will confidently anſwer, that, tho' in a Mahometan Country, where the Cultivation of Science, and even of Letters, is ſuppreſſed, or, in a Savage Land, where the intellectual Faculties are, yet in Infancy, ſuch Arguments might be ſpecious; in theſe Countries and in theſe enlightened Times, Nothing can be more abſurd:—in theſe Times, I further ſay (when every Man, uniting ſound Senſe, with an unprejudiced Mind, would refute ſuch Myſteries in the Compaſs of a Card, and with whom *ſuch Props*, have long ſince ceaſed to exiſt) ſurely, to have proved them uſeleſs cannot have injured the Cauſe of true Religion: nor, can my Labours to eſtabliſh in their Stead, ſuch as are above the Reach of Injury, be counted Sacrilege.

Every Argument in theſe Tracts, tends ſeriouſly and effectually to demonſtrate the eternal Exiſtence of the Deity, the Neceſſity of

of his Juſtice, and by the ſoundeſt Inference, the pleaſing Proſpect of a future State, as the *due Reward of Virtue*.—If, to have eſtabliſhed ſuch important Truths on ſolid Principles of Reaſon, and to have rejected ſuch Abſurdities, as, with the uncandid and undiſcriminating, tend but to invalidate their Belief. If this be Sacrilege (and it is the Sum of Endeavour) I readily plead Guilty.—But, as the Virtuous and Unprejudiced, will, at leaſt, abſolve me, and as I cannot, in theſe Days, have *Tudor* for my Judge. Conſcious in the Integrity and univerſal Benevolence of my Intentions. I ſhall ever meet my Sentence with Steadineſs and Confidence.

I will only add, that to *enjoin* the Belief, even of theſe Truths, would be contrary to their own Principles. To relate, and to explain them often, cannot be wrong; and, to plain unprejudiced Senſe, it is I truſt, all that would be neceſſary for the moſt perfect Conviction; and with it, the moſt ſteady Confirmation of Virtue, with the moſt unequivocal and pleaſing Proſpects.

———*Si vera hæc tibi videntur.*

Dede manus.

First Printed in 1785.

A FORM of
DAILY PRAYER,
For the PROFESSORS of
RATIONAL THEISM.

HAVING already written all that I believe eſſential to the Doctrines of RATIONAL THEISM, it may not be improper to annex the only Species of *Daily Prayer* that can, as I have before obſerved, conſiſt with ſuch Profeſſions. It is, itſelf, in ſome Degree explanatory of the awful Relation ſubſiſting between the DEITY and the human Race; it announces a conſtant Witneſs of our Actions, whether *virtual* or *immediate*; it cannot, therefore, but remind us of the implied Condition of our Exiſtence, and of the very ſerious Importance of our Conduct in this probatory State.

I ſuppoſe it to be attentively repeated every Night on laying down to Reſt: the Cares of the buſy Day being then over, and the Scene, commonly, devoid of Light, is but the more calculated for awful Contemplation.—The humble,

humble, recumbent Poſture being equally adapted either to Vigor or Infirmity of Body, will be the more readily, at all Seaſons of Reſt, ſuited to this Addreſs, and to the unoſtentatious *mental* Exerciſe of it, even when accompanied: though by the mere Subſtitution of the Plural in a few Parts of it, it may be likewiſe fitted for Society.

I pretend not to preſcribe the actual Form, though this being nearly ſimilar to what I have uſed theſe thirty Years, I deemed it but my Duty to ſet it down,—the ſpecific Senſe and Subſtance is all I actually recommend.—I need ſcarcely obſerve that this Prayer claſhes with no Form of Worſhip whatever.

THE

THE PRAYER
OF THE
RATIONAL THEIST.

O Omnipreſent and benign DEITY, who of Nothing, calledſt me forth into Exiſtence, and by imparting to me the diſtinguiſhed Lot of Rationality, haſt qualified me to contend for the immortal Prize; accept my grateful Thanks for all thy Bounties. Thy goodly Will be done, for Thou alone, in this eventful Trial, perceiveſt what is fitting for the anxious Child of thy Creation.—Yet, if Thou wilt deſcend to liſten to my ſole Petition, and, if it be conſiſtent with the Equity of Thy ſacred Ordinances, ſtrengthen and confirm my Mind in ſteady Habits of FORTITUDE, BENEVOLENCE, DISCERNMENT and INTEGRITY; that I may be thus rendered dear to my Fellow Creatures, contented with myſelf, and at the Laſt, I humbly hope, acceptable to THEE.

HALLOWED BE THY NAME, O GOD.

First Printed in 1788.

A

PHYSICAL ENQUIRY

INTO THE

POWERS and PROPERTIES

OF

SPIRIT,

AND,

HOW FAR BY

ANALOGICAL INFERENCES

RESULTING FROM

EXPERIMENTAL and NATURAL PHŒNOMENA,

THE

HUMAN INTELLECT

MAY BE

ENABLED TO ATTAIN

TO ANY

RATIONAL CONCEPTION

OF

OMNIPOTENCE.

Quæ ſi ut animis, ſic occulis vidêre poſſemus.

CICERO.

AS any juſt Imputation of Arrogance, even in the moſt trite Matters of Science, is what, of all others, I ſhould be ſorry to deſerve. I moſt ſincerely wiſh that thoſe Hints which I many Years ago ſketched out upon the Subject of Spirit, had long e'er this Time, prompted ſome Lover of Phyſics, better qualified than I pretend to be, to purſue this very intereſting Enquiry.

Nothing, certainly, is more univerſal than the Belief of the Deity. Yet, as I am perſuaded that, (independent of the antient Prevalence of Epicurean Doctrines) the Confidence of many modern Theiſts has been too often effectually aſſailed by atheiſtical Arguments, from which a very ſlender Portion of phyſical Knowledge had ſecured them: I am inclined to truſt that until ſome more effectual Effort ſhall be made, the following Sheets may not prove entirely uſeleſs.

The utmoſt they aſpire at, is to examine how far, by the Irradiations of experimental Knowledge, metaphyſical Notions are capable

of being actually illumined, and if thoſe univerſal Deductions from obvious natural Phœnomena, which have every where enforced an *implicit* Belief in Omnipotence, may not (by uniting the Diſcoveries of phyſical Obſervation, to plain Senſe) encreaſe our mere Belief, even to *rational* Conviction.

But, what has more immediately urged me to this Enquiry, is, a moſt firm Perſuaſion that the excluſive Benefit of rational Intellect was, for other Purpoſes, imparted to us, than for Diſcoveries, ſolely of Convenience or Entertainment.

That in ſeveral Parts of this ſhort Tract, it has been my zealous Endeavour to eſtabliſh this Maxim; I here moſt ſolemnly aſſert: with what Succeſs, I very ſincerely ſubmit to the diſprejudiced Reader.

A PHY-

A

PHYSICAL ENQUIRY

INTO THE

PROPERTIES of SPIRIT.

TO have, with many other Writers, clearly demonſtrated the Exiſtence of the Deity, and to have eſtabliſhed by the faireſt Inferences, drawn from the permanent and incontrovertible Teſtimony of his ſtupendous Works, not only infallible Precepts for our Conduct in this probatory Life, but likewiſe a moral Certainty of future Rewards, for thoſe who act in due Conformity to them; far from being the Enterprize of Arrogance, appears literally to me, the expreſſly deſtined Application of that noble Faculty, by which, alone, the human Race is, in any ſuperior Degree, diſtinguiſhed: and which muſt have been, of Force, adequately proportioned to the impoſed Taſk.

It does not, however, follow, that an Enquiry into the *actual* Nature of the Deity, can be undertaken with the moſt diſtant Proſpect of Succeſs. And, however prompted we may

be to ſuch Enquiry, by the Curioſity inherent in our natural Diſpoſitions, Problems of this exalted Kind, are evidently as much above our Reach, as their Solution, if accidentally approaching to Truth, would, yet, exceed all Poſſibility of rational Demonſtration.

But, as the eloquent and enlightened *Cicero* has, without Scruple, deemed it conſiſtent with Decency (if not to decide in Favor of any) at leaſt to ſtate, in his Book *de Natura Deorum*, the ſeveral Opinions of the moſt renowned Sages of Antiquity, on that ſublime Subject: and under the Characters of *Velleus* the Epicurean, *Balbus* the Stoic, and *Cotta* the Academician, freely to debate the reſpective Merits of each Hypotheſis. And at a Period too, when, though far excelling us, in many Arts and Sciences, they were yet! unaſſiſted by the Advantage of modern Diſcoveries, which could not fail of having furniſhed Means of conveying clearer Ideas of their reſpective Syſtems.—It may not be unintereſting to examine how far, by the Aſſiſtance of theſe new Diſcoveries, many of the above Syſtems, which (though delivered by Men of undoubted Senſe and Reputation) ſeem ſo diametrically at Variance, may

may be yet reconciled, not only to Poſſibility, but, in ſome Reſpects, even to each other.

Far from attempting any Thing even reſembling a Definition of ſuch truely abſtruſe Matters as *Infinity* and *Eternity*; which, indeed, ſeem but to deride the Inveſtigation of limitted Intellects: it better ſuits our manifeſt Inadequacy to ſuch baffling Enquiries, modeſtly to leave them as they ſtand. But, for Omniſcience, Omnipreſenſe, and even Omnipotence, they are Ideas, to which, though vaſt! the human Intellect, limitted as it is, appears yet (with the Aid of theſe * Diſcoveries) in ſome Degree competent.

The Aim then of this intereſting Diſcuſſion, is, no vain Endeavor to penetrate, or to deſcribe the Eſſence of the Deity, or to hazard even a Conjecture on the *actual* Means that were employed for the Accompliſhment, and continue to be unremittingly exerted for the Maintenance of this wondrous Fabric:—on the contrary, the very utmoſt it propoſes, or deems

* I am content to confine theſe Diſcoveries to the Air Pump, the Steam Engine, Electricity, the artificial Magnet, the explosive Powers of Nitre, and the aſtoniſhingly active Progreſs of Light.

within the Reach of Poſſibility, is but fairly, and phyſically to illuſtrate thoſe demonſtrable Properties in * Spirit, which I ever thought fully adequate to the furniſhing a *rational* Conception of their being (when employed as Agents of the Deity) ſuſceptible of ſuch *coercive* Organization, as would amply fulfil the extenſive Object of even the above wonderous Attributes.

It may be proper to obſerve that, as I have already treated of theſe Properties, ſome Repetition of the ſame Arguments will be, not only unavoidable, but perhaps more clear and more compendious than repeated References to a former Tract.

If Analogy is, in the Solution of even mathematical Problems, not barely admiſſible, but often concluſive; how infinitely muſt, what the mere Calculations of Men, and their trite Experiments evince, be exceeded by that unlimited Being, to whom as their Creator, all Things are of Neceſſity ſubſervient.—Analogy can be, *therefore*, never more ſecurely depended on, than in the preſent Inſtance. And, as it

* By this general Term I mean every Thing that is, like Air, impalpable and pervious.

will

will beſides, furniſh Ideas, eaſier to be coped with by a limited Imagination, than thoſe ſtupendous Ones, whoſe Explanation, or at leaſt, whoſe *rational* Conception it is intended to facilitate, I am, I think juſtly entitled to avail myſelf of its expediting Aſſiſtance.

Had a more extenſive Meaning been, generally, annexed to the Term Organization, it would probably, have long ſince engaged and enabled the ſpeculative Part of Mankind, to throw far clearer Lights upon the Subject of this intricate Enquiry, than it appears yet to have received.—The poſſible Modes of Organiſm are in Fact as infinite, as the various Combinations of Matter and of Spirit, or indeed of both, for there is, evidently, in their reſpective Natures, no Averſeneſs to Union.

The ſpecific Qualities both of Spirit and of Matter, however, widely differing in Activity, are far from being, any of them, inert. And, to deem, even elementary Matter (if I may ſo call its minuteſt Detail) unorganized, is ſo little worthy of an enlightened Philoſopher, that it would diſgrace any Man of even common Phyſical Experience.

It

It may be yet right to point out a few of the moſt ſtriking Specimens.—Can the attractive Quality, for Inſtance, inherent (under certain Circumſtances) in the ſmalleſt Filing of Iron,—the Volatility and almoſt inexhauſtibly diffuſive Property of the minuteſt Particle of Muſk,—or the powerful Effects of a ſingle Grain of Arſenic upon metalic Bodies, fairly be aſcribable to any other Cauſe than their reſpective Modes of active Organiſm?

In ſhort, Attraction, Repultion, Volatility, Inflammability, and Elaſticity (with ſome of which Properties almoſt every Particle of Matter or of Spirit is, in a Degree endued) are too *extrinſically* active, and too familiar to every phyſically ſpeculative Mind, to be any further inſiſted on.

That the very Air we breath is demonſtrably organized (though from its tranſparent Nature it be incapable of reflecting Light, and by Conſequence * inviſible) the well known and

* So we are accuſtomed to ſuppoſe it, though when conſidered in its pureſt and moſt extenſive State, it is manifeſtly Azure: as every Man muſt admit, who caſts his Eye on an unclouded Atmoſphere. Juſt indeed as the Colour of any lightly tinged Liquid, which, though ſcarcely diſcernable in a ſmall Body of it, is yet ſufficiently apparent if its Volume be much increaſed.

powerful

powerful Effects of its almoſt infinitely expanſive *Tendency*, with its ready Submiſſion to Compreſſure, not only, evince, but further, prompt us to conclude that its Mode of Organiſm is perhaps analogous to the Idea of an infinitely elaſtic and tranſparent Sponge: ſuch Texture being, of all others, beſt calculated for the Accompliſhment of all its different Attributes, but more particularly its extreme Aptitude to Impregnation, not only by Scents and Liquids, but, by the moſt ſolid and ponderous Bodies, when ſufficiently reduced either by common Attrition, or by chemical Proceſs. How incomparably more ſo then! when elaborated by the coercive Agents of the Deity.

Of which I ſhall, I truſt, be able in the Courſe of this Eſſay to convey (however inadequate to the actual Fact,) at leaſt ſome intelligible Idea.

Though by a comparative Mode of Speech, many Subſtances are called Inert, Nothing totally devoid of Activity exiſts. Nothing, at leaſt, that we may be fairly ſaid to know. The moſt apparently inert * Body has, if heavier

* I am here reduced to call Spirit Body, as indeed in common Diſcourſe, we juſtly ſay a Body, even, of Light.

than

than atmoſpherical Air, a poſitive Tendency to the Centre of the Earth; if lighter, its *Tendency* to the Regions of Rarefaction is as unequivocal (although it, *in Truth*, operates, only by giving Place to what is ſpecifically heavier than itſelf) but, though I ſhould deem it impoſſible for any Thing abſolutely active, to be unorganized: yet, whether *elemental* Organization be a naturally inherent Quality, I will rather doubt, than attempt to examine, as it is an Enquiry ſo evidently ſurpaſſing the demonſtrative Faculties of human Intellect, that it better conſiſts with Reaſon to decline it: and indeed with Decency; for, though ſuch Enquiry could be no how ſaid to contract our Ideas of a Power which at any Rate far exceeds any Conception that we can form of it, yet, would it imply, in ſome Sort, an arrogant Attempt to limit, nay to ſubſtract from the many wonderous Works of God, that, which if admitted, though the firſt, was manifeſtly the moſt extenſive, providential and aſtoniſhing.

I would then, rather, combat, in ſome Degree, that bold *anticreative* Axiom,—*ex nihilo nihil fit*, for, ſince, whatever is unorganized, muſt be in that State, unconnectible and uſeleſs;

leſs; ſo, that which is not only uſeleſs, but *undeſcribable*, is ſurely as Nothing: our Ideas of Omnipotence ſhould, *therefore*, be unqualified by whatever *limitting* Axiom, and I would modeſtly conclude the Deity, to have been the Author and virtual Creator of every exiſting Thing; and that the diſperſed Materials of original Element, under one uniform and totally inert Species (which, for Convenience we will call Ether) had, from all Eternity floated in that vaſt Magazine of the Univerſe; which (though our Mind is loſt in the Idea) we term Infinite: and that, when they were firſt called forth, or more properly, ſelected and * *compelled* by the coercive Spirit of the Deity, they were, previous to their final Deſtination, inveſted, in reſpective Proportions, with that requiſitely varied Organiſm, which I have preſumed to all Elementary. As Letters, though likewiſe the mere Elements of Writing, have been, yet, themſelves the elaborate and progreſſive Contrivance of inventive Genius.

Before I proceed to that more complicated Organiſm of which the foregoing elementary Claſſes were but preparatory, I hope I may be

* To have obeyed a mere *Fiat*, they muſt have been already organized and animated.

in-

indulged in adding a few general Opinions of my own, to the numerous Catalogue of Hypothetical Conjectures that have been already hazarded on the internal Conformation of the Terreſtrial Globe.

I will then preſume that, conſonantly to the known *centrifugal* Laws, and to that Preciſion and Economy which manifeſtly pervade the whole Fabric of the Univerſe, it is hollow to its Centre. That the internal, or concave Surface of its enormous Shell, is probably the Scene of that ſtupendous Mechaniſm which firſt cauſed and unremittingly continues to maintain its rotatory Motion.—For its Texture, and the Material that this Shell is compoſed of, I will only ſay that, from the forcible and diametrically oppoſite Preſſures which it ſuſtains, it muſt be neceſſarily, of almoſt adamantine *Hardneſs* and *metalic Solidity*. That its external or convex Surface, pointedly analogous (in its *counter-action* to the other) to the oppoſite Pole of a powerful Magnet, is likewiſe as ſtrongly endued with an attractive Faculty, which, though on a quite different * Principle,

* The internal, I preſume, acts merely on centrifugal Principles: the external on that of *Gravity* or abſolute Attraction.

con-

conveys or rather excites a *centripetal* Tendency in every Material whatever, in a Degree proportioned to the Diſtance, and to the Volume and ſolid Contents of the reſpective Subſtances. That this powerful Tendency is implanted, likewiſe, in the Material itſelf, and (as demonſtrated by Sir Iſaac Newton,) in *adverſe Poles*, however minute the Inſtance.—But that the Effect, (as relating to its reſpective Orb) being in a Direction parallel to the Centre, has *therefore* obtained the Appellation and the Idea we annex to Gravity: and has ſerved (by the conglutinating and other Qualities of the ſeveral Subſtances previouſly organized and deſtined by the Deity to their reſpective Intentions) at once, by counteracting its violent centrifugal Tendency, both to conſolidate and keep the Shell together, and, effectually to form and cement that ſuperficial Incruſtation, whoſe *now* fertilized Surface we inhabit and call the Earth. Which under the Equinoctial Zone, is probably ſome Miles in Thickneſs, though I preſume far thinner at the Poles, from its incomparably leſs rotatory Velocity in thoſe intenſely cold and unapproachable Regions.

The

The atmoſpherical Air we are encompaſſed with, far from being the Cauſe of this centripetal Tendency (to which, by obvious Inferences reſulting from the moſt ſimple Calculations, it is exceedingly inſufficient) is itſelf acted on, like every other Subſtance, in due Proportion to its Diſtance and ſpecific Gravity, which I make no doubt is different at different Altitudes, merely from the reſpective heterogeneous Subſtances with which it happens to have been impregnated,—That it is not only ſtationary, but, ſo intimately connected with the Earth as to form to every Intent and Purpoſe a moſt eſſential Part of it. —That if it were otherwiſe, it muſt be neceſſarily *left*, or thrown off by the Earth's violent centrifugal Action, its Velocity being *in that Reſpect* equal, at the Surface, to more than 1000 Miles an Hour, and its *progreſſive* Velocity, 58000.—But, that the circumambient Air is actually attracted to the Centre, and ſtationary, the Flight of Birds evidently demonſtrates, and ſtill more, our late Balloon Experiments, when travelling at the vaſt height they do in contrary Direction to the Earth's Progreſs.—That our atmoſpherical Air, though capable of

of wonderous Rarefaction, is probably from its Organiſm, totally different from what we agree to call pure * Ether, with which, while in that State, it can (for good Reaſons I preſume) in no Sort coaleſce.—That as the Activity it is poſſeſſed of, by elaſtic Organiſm, qualifies it or an elementary Ingredient; perhaps univerſally requiſite, ſo we experimentally find it to be the *ſine quâ non* to the Conveyance of Sound, the Action of Fire, and indeed, the *Pabulum* of all animal and vegetable Exiſtence.

The Term Organization being ſtrictly applicable to whatever has been purpoſely compoſed for any poſſible Uſe, pure Ether, of which we can have no competent Idea, appears to be the only Object that is excluded from this comprehenſive Acception of it. And indeed from all *Phyſical Exiſtence*, unleſs to the ſole Contemplations of that all-powerful Being, from whoſe creative Exertions ſo vaſt a Portion of theſe elſe *uſeleſs* Materials firſt received it, and from that Minute became Elements, reſpec-

* In Contemplation of *Infinity*, we may well ſuppoſe the unappropriated and ſtill unorganized Ether, abundantly to exceed even the unnumbered Worlds to whoſe entire Fabric it has been made ſo amply to contribute.

tively endued with ſuch Forms and Qualities as were deemed requiſite, both to the Conſtruction of thoſe wonderous Agents employed by the Deity, and to the Fabrication and Maintenance of that ſtupendous Work we call the Univerſe.

It is by Suggeſtions reſulting from a View of the four great component Claſſes of this extenſive Whole, that we may, I truſt, be furniſhed with Ideas of that more exalted Species of Organiſm, which is the principal Subject of this Enquiry.—They are, I think, commonly divided into the Material, the Vegetable, the merely Animal, and the Rational.

But though this Diviſion is, in a general Senſe, ſufficiently unequivocal, and if the moſt diſtinguiſhed Specimens of the higher Claſs, be brought into Compariſon with the loweſt of the Second, the Diſtinction is too obviouſly apparent, to admit, of, even a Doubt; yet, if we reverſe the Propoſition, and compare the higheſt of the ſecond Claſs with the loweſt Specimens of the Firſt, and proceed in like Manner with each of the four Claſſes, it will be, I fear, as difficult to draw any poſſitive Line of Diſcrimination, as it would between

thoſe

thoſe indiviſible Shades of Difference, which ſo perfectly connect the undiſcernable Extremes of the neighbour Colours refracted through a Priſm. To which it is impoſſible, in either State of the Propoſition to be more pointedly analogous.

As each of the above Claſſes, in their reſpective Nearneſs of Relation, has been already elaborately inveſtigated, and that, by Writers far better qualified for the ſeveral ſpecific Enquiries, than I pretend to be; a Re-examination of the Whole would be ſuperfluous, and indeed inconſiſtent with the Plan of this little Eſſay. But, as the two firſt Diviſions are more immediately connected with the Object we have in View, it may not be improper to beſtow on them, at leaſt, ſome general Obſervations.

I will therefore proceed with that of Man, to whoſe diſtinguiſhed Lot, Reaſon is aſſerted to have excluſively fallen. That this, in general, is Fact, I have, myſelf, repeatedly admitted. But, that there is, in the human Species, perhaps, as great Diverſity, as in any other Diviſion of the Animal Creation, I am, I confeſs, with many others, fully perſuaded. And

further, that, were Rationality the only Criterion to be depended on, for the Aſcertainment of his ſpecific Identity, the Hottentot or Caffre would, I fear, in that Line, very little ſurpaſs his almoſt reaſoning Neighbour, the Elephant. Yet, are we fully juſtified in believing that the Caffre, brutiſh as he is, may be, comparatively, an enlightened Being; if we but reflect on the Savage Inhabitants of that torrid Tract of Africa, extending from the tenth Degree of ſouthern Latitude, to ten north of the Equator, and eaſtward, to the ſwampy Marſhes and enormous Lake of Zara: a Space including, likewiſe, the Lunar Mountains, whoſe inacceſſible Heights imply ſuch Intenſeneſs of Cold, as to unite, between their Summits and their Baſe, not only the Extreams of Heat and Cold, but, probably, every different Degree of Climate exiſting from the Equator, even to the Poles.

This critical Tract of Country conſidered, (which, by its varied Gradations of Heat and Cold, of Damp and Dry, ſeems reſpectively adapted to every poſſible animal Production) I am far from diſbelieving even the moſt marvellous Relations of the adventurous Few who have explored the acceſſible Parts of this dangerous Region.

Region. My only Doubt, reſpecting the *mute* Savages both aquatic and terreſtrial that we are told of, is not, if they were actually ſeen or faithfully deſcribed, but, whether they were really an *eſtabliſhed Species*, whether they were regularly engendered, in ſhort, if they were not *Mules*.

And here, as an unanſwerable Rufutation of the atheiſtical Doctrine of Chance, I cannot but remark and reverence that truly providential Precaution by which the permanent Identity of Species is preſerved, throughout the innumerably varied animal Creation. The ever conſiſtent Deity wiſely forſeeing the irreſiſtible Effects of that *Maſter-Paſſion* which he had univerſally implanted for the Preſervation and Increaſe of all; has (in effectual Preclufion of that unlimitted Irregularity which muſt have otherwiſe attended it) irrevocably entailed the compleateſt Inability of Procreation, on *Mules* of every Kind.

That every conſiderable Lake which I have ſeen in different Parts of the Continent, was inhabited by ſome aquatic Animal peculiar to itſelf, I can in Conſcience aſſert; and as we are told, that in a River flowing from this

wonderous Lake of Zara, an Animal is found which is, from the Waiſt upwards, nearly of the human Form, and that it is, as Father *Merolla* reports (who had often eat of it) commonly ſold to the Savage Natives, under the Portugueſe Name of *Peix Molher* or Woman's Fleſh: and, as Nothing is more certain than that the Pongo or Colloſſeal Oran-outang (which is often more than eight Feet high, and frequently ſeen ſtrolling, even to the Coaſt of *Angola)* differs outwardly from Man in Nothing but the Want of Speech and a better natural Cloathing: and as their Fondneſs for the Women of that Country is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by their omitting no Opportunity to raviſh them, when Accident puts it in their Power. How far the Divine Precaution above alluded to, may be extended to this *Croſs*, can be determined only by actual Experience. But, that *mute* Animals of perfectly human Figure, which were ſhewn to the Miſſionary *Francis di Pavia* in the Lake of Zara, (who 'till then diſbelieved the Fact) might well be of the Mule Kind, and engendered between the Pongo, and the above Mermaids, appears by no Means unlikely, particularly, if their natural

Fond-

Fondneſs for the real Women of that Country, together with their *ſuppoſed* Irrationality, be conſidered. And that they ſhould, when born, often emerge (as they are ſaid to do) from their aquatic Element, does but conſiſt with the inherent Nature of, at leaſt, their male Parent. And ſtill more, if we reflect on the gradual Habituation that the immenſe Swamps ſurrounding this Lake, would, not barely prompt and facilitate, but often, accidentally force them to. For the Newt or Eft, which is acquatic, or at beſt amphibious in Middleſex, emerges in the hilly Parts of Kent, and actually commencing Lizard, inhabits the warm dry Walls of that more ſouthern County, as I have myſelf remarked, at Cale Hill, not many Miles from Canterbury.

That neither Figure nor Reaſon can *alone* conſtitute a human Being, the Elephant, and the Pongo (if he be not one) in Oppoſition to their Savage Neighbours, ſufficiently evince. That the Idea of a human Being, cannot be annexed to Speech alone, many of the feathered *Bipeds* amply prove. And, if we may credit Prince Maurice's Account of the famous Brazillian Parrot, as related from the Prince's own

Mouth by Sir William Temple; neither can we annex that Idea to the Gift of Speech when accompanied with even undoubted Reaſon.—That the Prince, notwithſtanding all his incredulous Precautions, might be, yet, deceived by the Colluſion of his Interpreters (for he purpoſely employed two) is certainly poſſible. Tho' I cannot well conceive to what good End; for the Reputation of the Bird had been long eſtabliſhed. And that they ſhould have riſqued ſo wanton and unprofitable a Deception on a Perſon of the Prince's high Rank and Power, is ſurely very unlikely.

From the Evidence of theſe Facts, even as they ſtand, we may I think conclude that, reſpecting thoſe poſſeſſed of *Rationality*, no diſcriminating Line can poſſibly be drawn.—And, for the *Indentity* of the human Species, we are, I fear, reduced to one only Criterion, *that* reſulting from the eternal Law reſpecting Mules.—How far it may extend in the human Inſtance, can be, probably, no where ſo well aſcertained as in this torrid Tract of Africa. Where, the Lunar Mountains, with the varied Climates that they furniſh, the Savage Inhabitants, the Exiſtence of the Pongo, and the

Produce,

Produce of this aſtoniſhing Lake and its ſwampy Marſhes, all jointly concur to the Producduction of every poſſible animal Phœnomenon. That ſo luxuriant a Tract abounds in *Luſus Naturæ* of almoſt every Denomination, I cannot heſitate to believe. But, that ſuch Confuſion does, in any Inſtance exceed a *ſingle Generation*, is ſo diametrically contrary to the invariable Experience of Ages, that it is little leſs than totally incredible.

The Queſtion then, is ſimply this :—if the Male and Female Produce of the Pongo (when it accidentally takes place) with the Women of Angola, are capable of re-producing, they are to all Intents and Purpoſes, Human. And, in Point of Stature and Bodily Powers, would probably mend the Race.—If, on the Contrary, they cannot re-produce, they are manifeſtly Mule, and by Conſequence, the Pongo Race Brutes.

It may be, I hope, permitted to add that, *if a Doubt exiſts* of the Pongo being human, ſurely a fair Experiment of *Croſs* with a ſtrong healthy Woman of the Country, is too intereſting in every Light, either of Advantage or Curioſity, to be omitted.—Independent of his

his being often nine Feet high, his Strength is ſuch, that with a ſingle back Stroke of his open Hand, he has been ſeen to fell a pretty ſtout Tree, when deſirous of its Fruit. But, if accidentally enthralled or taken, his Love of Liberty is ſuch, that it has hitherto baffled all Attempts to keep him alive, by his obſtinate Refuſal of every Kind of Nouriſhment. Thus far my Informer, who was a Gentleman of Veracity, and obtained his Intelligence at Angola, where he continued a conſiderable Time.

But, that the Pongo is not human, or at leaſt, not rational, the following Arguments and Facts if true, ſtrongly induce me to ſuſpect. —Firſt, the viſibly mixed Nature and ſuperior Size and Powers that muſt neceſſarily reſult from the reſpective Qualities of the Objects of this Croſs, when it fortuitouſly happens, would, probably, if the *Generations were continued*, have, long ſince eſtabliſhed their *human Identity*, for, *Mules cannot breed.*—Beſides, would they? if rational, gifted as they are with ſuch Colloſſeal Powers and Stature, have ſo long continued, a merely fugitive Race amidſt Neighbours ſo incomparably their Inferiors in that Reſpect.—Of their Irrationality, the following

lowing is a glaring Inſtance. When the Inhabitants of the Country quit thoſe Fires, which they often kindle for culinary and other Purpoſes, the Pongo Tribe are ſaid, immediately to advance and ſeat themſelves round the remaining Embers. But, though an imitative Animal, they were never yet ſeen to apply the long Staffs they always Walk with, for the Renewal of that expiring Warmth which they are ſo evidently fond of.

I cannot forbear relating a pointedly ſimilar Inſtance of the Want of Reaſon which I myſelf obſerved in a favourite Bitch: who was, yet, uncommonly ſagacious in her Kind. It may ſerve indeed, to bring home to every Man's Obſervation, the manifeſt Diſtinction between Inſtinct and Reaſon.—This Bitch, though even *naturally* diſpoſed to *fetch* any other Thing ſhe was ſent for, yet! when in cold Weather uneaſy and perplexed between the Deſire of Warmth, and the Love of her Cuſhion, and ever whining 'till it was brought for her to the Fire Side, never in a ſingle Inſtance brought it there herſelf: nor could be even taught to do it *as an Object of Intereſt to herſelf*,

herſelf, though ſhe would readily, if ordered, lay it at her Maſter's Feet, in whatever Part of the Room he might direct.

I am a real Admirer of Montaigne, but, in his Inſtance of the Hound, I cannot but think he begs the Queſtion in Favor of the Rationality of Brutes.—He aſſerts as a Proof of it that, if, in Purſuit of its Game down a Lane which chances to open into three different Roads, the Dog happens to lay his Noſe without Effect on two of them, he, without further Tryal, or, to uſe his own Words, *ſans plus marchander* purſues his Chaſe down the third. Now, beſides that this truly laconic Inference would do no Diſcredit even to the human Race; independent of the Purſuit of Prey being the inſtinctive Profeſſion of his Kind, is it not far more probable? that a very high Scent, from which the ſudden Change of Scene had for a Minute diverted his Attention, was in Fact the real Cauſe of his Deciſion.

For the Rationality of the Elephant, it is, I confeſs, ſo apparent in many Inſtances, that, if they are authentic, one is ſcarcely juſtified in doubting of it. But, for Quadrupeds, and

Inſects

Inſects of the gregarious kinds? however aſtoniſhingly juſt their Order, and ſubtile their Contrivance, as it is demonſtrably *innate*, by its ſpecific Uniformity in the reſpective Tribes, I cannot heſitate to deem it merely Inſtinct. —Every Republic of Bees or Ants, every Colony of Marmots, of Bever, or of Rats, however diſtant from any other of its Kind, is uniformly governed, and its reſpective Habitations conſtructed by naturally inherent and invariable Rules.—The *Scratching* of either the Dog or Cat Kind, though when it is on penetrable Soil, it obviouſly tends to bury ſomething, is yet, *in abſolute Contradiction to Reaſon*, equally employed upon a wooden Floor, or on a ſtone Pavement, if they are reduced to depoſit any Thing upon ſo hard a Surface: And, the very ſame Actions of raking over it, are practiſed with both their Feet and Noſes, although, far from having ſcratched up any Duſt to cover with, no Sign even of Impreſſion has been made.

The Spider, though ſo confined from an Egg, as never to have beheld a Fly, will yet, weave his Net, and place it with the moſt *apparent* View of enſnaring that Animal, of which,

which, although his natural Prey, he can have had no * *experimental Knowledge*.

As I have quoted the Brazillian Parrot, (deemed by Mr. Locke, not unworthy of his Notice) I cannot help obſerving that, in addition to the Inſtinct implanted in every Animal, excepting Man; the feathered Tribe poſſeſs, not only the *Biped* Privileges of articulate Speech, and an erect Poſition, with the tranſcendent Faculty of traverſing the Clouds; but, as is ſufficiently manifeſt from a trite, tho' not a complicate Inſtance, ſome *very unequivocal Portion of even experimental Knowledge*.—There are few Perſons who have not them-

* As the late Mr. Hume ſeems, in his Eſſays, to inſiſt much upon the Memory and *Experimental Knowledge* of domeſtic Brutes: it is ſurely deſerving of ſome Notice.—That they are capable of learning and retaining many Tricks and even uſeful Leſſons, is too obvious not to be eaſily admitted. But, that this can be juſtly deemed ſuch Knowledge as is commonly termed *Rational*, I can by no Means grant; ſince, they are ſo far from drawing the ſmalleſt Inference from it, which might be beneficial to *themſelves*, that no Inſtance is known of their having ever applied it to the *perſonal* Purpoſes of either Eaſe, Security, or Preſervation. As the Account of the above *Bitch and her Cuſhion*, alone, amply teſtifies. For her *inſtinctive* Powers, her Memory, and her Fidelity, far exceeded thoſe of any Dog I ever met with.

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ſelves witneſſed the apt Docility of the Gold-finch in drawing Water, with his Bill and Claw, from a little Well ſuſpended to his Cage, and by a Chain and Bucket proportioned to his Strength. For his Docility, I grant he has it but in common with the Quadruped. But, *for the uſeful Application he ſpontaneouſly makes of this Inſtruction, for the Supply of his occaſional Wants*, it not only eſtabliſhes his incomparable Superiority *in the rational Line* over the Bitch above alluded to, but, has likewiſe, no inconſiderable Tendency to confirm the even genuine Rationality of the celebrated Brazillian Parrot.

I will paſs over the wonderful Contrivance and inimitable Workmanſhip of their endleſly varied Neſts. The well calculated Propriety and preciſe Order in which their Flights are marſhalled. And that aſtoniſhing Senſibility, whether of Scent, of Viſion or of whatever Faculty, that ſo infallibly directs their annual Migrations through a pathleſs Region of many thouſand Miles.—That all this is the mere Effect of *divine Inſtinct*, its wonderous Superiority as clearly proves, as its ſpecific Appropriation and Inherence in the reſpective Tribes.

To enumerate Half the Inſtances that might be adduced in Proof of Inſtinct or *innate Sagacity* would be an endleſs undertaking. But, —if to have their Minds cultivated (or rather, naturally furniſhed) to the full Extent of their Capacity, without the tedious Proceſs of Schooling,—To be endued with Knowledge, without the Riſque inſeparable from Experience, —To enjoy the Preſent, without offenſive Reflections on the Future,—To be inſenſible to thoſe humiliating Suggeſtions, that are the invariable Attendants on Conſciouſneſs and Compariſon;—and finally to be relieved from the Burthen of Life when its Faculties of Enjoyment are worn out, without the *Pain of Apprehenſion*, in which our almoſt oracular Poet declares the Pang of Death principally to conſiſt. If theſe be truly unalloied Bleſſings, they are the happy Lot of the inſtinctive Tribes. And an enviable Lot indeed to Man, did not that reaſoning Intellect and free Will, which were imparted to him in Lieu of theſe temporary Advantages, demonſtrably announce, the perhaps endleſs Reward of their virtuous Application.

Reſpecting the vegetable Claſs, I ſhall barely obſerve, what muſt indeed be obvious to every ſpecu-

ſpeculative Mind, that it is poſſeſſed of one Faculty in common, (in an, at leaſt, equal Degree) with both the merely animal, and the moſt exalted rational Species,—That of * *Aſſimilation*; by which truely *God-aſſerting Faculty*, every Specimen of theſe three Claſſes, is alike furniſhed with the Power of increaſing its Volume, and of perfecting its reſpectively aſſigned Form, from a ſcarcely diſcernible Embryo, even to the wonderous Beauty and Magnitude of the ſtately Cedar or the enormous Leviathan. How far the *Coraline Tribe* may be Partakers of the general Properties of *every Claſs* except the rational, is an Enquiry which has already called forth the Talents of ſo very ingenious a Naturaliſt, that I may ſafely refer the Reader to Mr. Ellis's elaborate Eſſay on that intereſting Article.

I will now proceed with the adventurous Undertaking I have engaged in, and without being in any Sort diſcouraged by the unſucceſful Attempts of enterpriſing Philoſophers of every Age, in Defence of the Soul's Exiſtence,

* By *Aſſimilation* I *always* mean the Faculty of converting a Part of that on which it feeds or is nouriſhed, into its own Subſtance.

or by the poſitive Deciſions of many of the Preſent, againſt even its Poſſibility, I here ſteadily aſſert, and ſhall, I truſt, be enabled to prove (as far as Argument, Analogy, and Inference can ſuffice to do it) that the Soul has, not only a real, unequivocal, diſtinct Exiſtence, but, that it is likewiſe *Material*, however exquiſitely ſubtilized into what Mankind have univerſally agreed to term Spirit.

I am, I confeſs, unable to comprehend how Mr. Voltaire (and the Authors of thoſe detached Eſſays contained in the three laſt Volumes of his Works, Geneva Edition, 1775,) could, with any Colour of Conſiſtency have, even derided the Idea of a Future State, whilſt they yet! readily admitted the Exiſtence of the Deity: againſt which, many of their Objections to the poſſible Exiſtence of the Soul, militate with at leaſt equal Force.

Since, however, theſe Writers (whether through Decency, or from the Conviction of their Reaſon) have, *at any Rate* admitted God's Exiſtence, together with his all-powerful Train of Attributes, and that theſe Attributes muſt of Neceſſity involve an ultimate, but inevitable Obſervance of Equity, as no Motive

Motive for its Infringement could, with ſuch Attributes poſſibly exiſt. How could they anywiſe reconcile with this *Equity?* that *periſhable State*, to which they ſo peremptorily conſign the *ſpiritleſs human Body*. Could they have denied its being originally forced into Exiſtence? Could they have diſputed its Subjection to many, often undeſerved Miſeries? Had they not felt that Conſcience, feeble as it is, and that the reaſoning Intellect, excluſively imparted to the human Race, had forcibly demonſtrated the general Advantages of Virtue? Had their own Paſſions never manifeſted to them, their perverſe Oppoſition to a Compliance with the diſintereſted Precepts of this Virtue? And could that Reaſon (of which they on other Subjects poſſeſſed ſo ample a Portion) poſſibly have failed to ſuggeſt to them, that a ſucceſsful * Combat with theſe overbearing Paſ-

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* Although this Eſſay was intended as chiefly Phyſical, I cannot forbear inſerting one moral Obſervation on this *Combat of the Paſſions*.—Nothing can leſs conſiſt with a *Worldly Trial*, than a Retreat from that Society which was manifeſtly intended to be the Scene of it. A State of Apathy thus violently procured, appears to me, little better than an Act of premature Death. If the Conduct of our Paſſions be the real Teſt of our Merit

ſions, in *Favour of Society*, together with the patient Endurance of undeſerved Miſeries, (where that had been the Caſe,) having manifeſtly rendered them meritorious in the Eſtimation of this JUST BEING, the Reward of their Succeſs in that dangerous Combat, which was probably ordained as their *earthly Trial*, would be but conſiſtent with the indeviable Equity of Him who had forcibly impoſed it. Or, could they prepoſterouſly have conceived, that this God of Equity and Goodneſs, although amply enabled to have imparted every ſmiling Benevolence and Happineſs to all the Children of his Creation (by thoſe Attributes they have themſelves allowed him)

Merit, neither a churliſh Seclution from their Effects, nor even, a total Suppreſſion of them can be right.—Whoever is diveſted of Senſibility, is neceſſarily precluded from the poſſible *Attainment of Merit*.—It is the proper Regulation of the Paſſions, when they might elſe counteract the Opportunities of Benevolence, or influence the Deciſions of Equity.—It is ſuch temperate, yet liberal Indulgence of them, as, by checking Habits of mere Senſuality, will effectually ſecure not only a Continuance of their Enjoyment, but likewiſe a Promptneſs and an Adequacy to every virtuous Effort.—Can we then be too grateful to that benign Deity? who has implanted in us *that* for our Trial, which, if properly conducted, is itſelf a moſt luxurious, although a temporary Reward.—Such I underſtand to have been the Baſis of genuine Epicurean Morality.

has

has rather choſen to let looſe upon them thoſe overbearing Paſſions and that Inundation of of varied * Evils under which we manifeſtly labour, without any *future* Object of Compenſation in his View.

* That a View to earthly Probation was the real *Origin of Evil* I have already ſufficiently explained in the *tenth Tract*. And likewiſe, that it could effect that Purpoſe on the human Race, no otherwiſe than by the Impartment of Reaſon to him, which is *Experimental Sagacity*, and of Free Will: in Diſtinction from the Impulſe of that infallible Inſtinct or *innate Sagacity*, which is the Portion of every other Animal.—It evidently appears from the 89th *Idler* of the late Doctor Samuel Johnſon, written on this expreſs Subject, that he was unacquainted with the above Doctrine in the Year 1759. And ſtill more ſo, in his Review of Mr. Soame Jenins's *Origin of Evil*. In which he roundly ſays, that Gentleman, "decides too eaſily upon a Queſtion *out of the Reach* of human Determination." Yet, in two Parts of Mr. Boſwel's Account of the Doctor's Journey to the Hebrides, two Years after I had publiſhed it, he ſeems to have ſo perfectly adopted my Solution of that important Queſtion, as confidently to deliver it, (for his own, I preſume.) He might indeed have taken from the Tract itſelf, at leaſt two other Solutions, of far more embarraſſing moral Difficulties: which I flatter myſelf with having as effectually ſurmounted. But, he either apprehended they might claſh with that Orthodoxy of which he was ſo obſtinately tenacious; or, he had not really read the Tract. But had accidentally taken the Obſervation from my own Mouth at Sir Joſhua Reynolds's, during a little Debate I held upon that Subject, while at Dinner, with his Friend Goldſmith. *When the Book was actually in the Preſs.*

It

But, as ſuch uncandid, not to ſay blaſphemous Concluſions cannot poſſibly conſiſt with that Equity ſo univerſally aſcribed to him, and as the Reward reſulting from this Alternative, could be beſtowed upon the Virtuous, at the Expiration of their earthly Toils, *ſolely* by a Continuation of their Exiſtence in a happier State. Unleſs they will adopt the *cumberſome* Idea of a *corporeal Reſurrection*, the Exiſtence of a ſurviving Spirit in thoſe to be rewarded, becomes an inevitable Conſequence of the above Conceſſion. For, it is ſurely leſs irrational and leſs impious, totally to denie the Exiſtence of a God; than it is, one Moment to diſpute his Equity: a Deficiency of which, could be no how palliated by either Want or Weakneſs in an ALL-POWERFUL BEING. Except they could in the true *Hebrew Principle*, ſuppoſe him like the jealous God of Moſes, cruelly to viſit the Sins of Fathers upon their

It was the only Time I ever was in Company with the Doctor: and I remember, he rather roughly, told poor Goldſmith, *to hold his Tongue*, for the Gentleman (he knew not my Name) had given him a very ſufficient, I think he ſaid, *philoſophical* Anſwer. And he ought to be ſatisfied. I find, a Clergyman of the Name of Donne has likewiſe adopted the Doctrine, in the fourth Sermon of thoſe publiſhed in his Name. For he too is dead.

harmleſs

harmleſs Offspring. Even to the third and fourth-Generation. Or abſurdly to recompenſe the undeſerved Suffering of departed Parents, by Rewards to their unworthy Progenie.

The Soul then, by the faireſt Inference, drawn, even from their own Conceſſions, manifeſtly exiſts. And, though I might ſecurely intrench myſelf under this juſt Concluſion: Yet, having already determined to engage in a *Phyſical* Proof of its diſtinct Exiſtence in the human Frame, it may not be improper to combat that *Phyſical Objection* on which they moſt inſiſt.—Your Hands, ſay they, and many other Parts, pay a moſt ready Obedience to your Will, (which we perſume is but another Word for your Soul, or that Spiritual Portion of you, which you contend for) yet, would its Dictates avail but little, ſhould they be idly addreſſed to your Stomach; its Faculties of Digeſtion being in no Sort ſubordinate to the Power of Volition, are ſolely dependent on their own good or ill Condition; they neither recognize or obey any Director whatever.

The very utmoſt that this Argument can tend to prove, is, that ſome Organs of the human Frame, are evidently more dependent

upon our Will than others. But, it by no Means invalidates either the diſtinct Exiſtence, or the Power of that Will in any Inſtance where its Exertion could have been expedient or really beneficial to the animal Economy.—In thoſe of Digeſtion or Circulation, it was, for the moſt obvious Reaſons, neceſſary, that the Action of the Organs deſtined to each reſpective Proceſs ſhould be involuntary. And without mentioning any other, I truſt theſe Gentlemen will grant that, while aſleep, and incapable of directing them, the Suſpenſion of theſe Functions had been rather inconvenient. It is for the diſtinct Exiſtence of the Mind, not for its unlimitted Power, that we contend. And, of its divine Contrivance, there can be no ſtronger Argument than the amazing Preciſion with which its varied Degrees of Attention are adapted to reſpective Functions: for, in every Office where Volition muſt have acted upon inadequate Information, have been too tardy in its Direction, or totally unneceſſary; the truly providential Deity has imparted to the reſpective Organs *themſelves*, ſuch *inſtinctive* Action as could alone have ſuited them. That our Eyelids are, in general, obedient to

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our Will, is evident. But were not their Action *likewiſe*, often involuntary, or were the Valve which ſo effectually guards the Entrance of our Windpipe during the Paſſage over it, of every Aliment, actuated *only by our Will*, its Direction had been in either Caſe fatally late.

To enquire at what Period of Conception or Geſtation the Spirit is united to the Body, is little to the Purpoſe, could it even be decided. That it *now* exiſts, every Man may, by the very act of thinking on it, perceive. And though, we readily admit that Moſes took no Cognizance of it whatever, in thoſe Laws which he pretended to deliver (as immediately from God) to his miſerable People. Yet is Mr. Voltaire certainly in an Error, when he facetiouſly ſuppoſes its *diſtinct* Exiſtence to be the ſole Suggeſtion of Chriſtianity, ſince, the moſt unequivocal Notions of a Futurity (and that a *ſpiritual* and diſtinct one, which could not very conſiſtently have been preached by a Jew, and to a Jewiſh Audience) have been diſcovered to obtain, in Countries where the Doctrines of Chriſtianity had yet never penetrated.—When this Writer deſcends to the trite and abſurd Queſtion, of, *Who ever beheld his own or any other*

other Soul? I know not if I am more enclined to pity his want of Candour, or to cenſure his wretched Inſult on the Underſtandings of his fellow Creatures.—That he ſhould have diſputed the Abilities of the Deity to conceal *that* from the *obvious Perception* of Man, which, for the wiſeſt Purpoſes, it was inexpedient for him to be *poſitively* informed about, is altogether incredible. Nor is this Author or his Aſſociates to be told, that God has benevolently imparted *that* to Man, which if cultivated with * Integrity, amply ſuffices to the removal of every Cloud in which this Myſtery is providentially enveloped.—To the enlightened Minds of ſuch as properly avail themſelves of this divine Faculty, and to ſuch only, will the human Spirit be viſible; for only ſuch can have deſerved, or could indeed be truely gratified with this intellectual Viſion.

* The Mahometan Religion forbids the Study or Cultivation of all Science, leaſt the thus enlightened Mind ſhould diſcover any Doctrines that might claſh with thoſe of the Alcoran. And ſuch, indeed, is the real or implied Injunction of all Religions founded on *pretended* Revelation. How can we be then ſaid to reaſon with *Integrity*, if compelled to diſtruſt our Concluſions, unleſs they quadrate with thoſe revealed Doctrines, in which we *happen* to have been born and bred.

That

That the human Soul, (or, a Continuation of that identical Conſciouſneſs of Exiſtence which we now poſſeſs) will be extended, to the meritorious, in a Future State, is the inevitable Reſult of Inferences drawn from their own Conceſſions. And indeed, however clumſily they affect to deny it, they are often reduced (in ironical Compliance with the Formalities of a Religion impoſed upon them by the local Accident of their Birth) verbally to acknowledge it. But, as their principal Objection is founded on the Improbability, that a Faculty ſo active, ſhould ſeparately exiſt in every Man, without his Knowledge or Perception of it; inſtead of ſtating and individually refuting the numerous Changes into which they have multiplied this Argument. It remains only to be phyſically proved, that a Spirit equally active, may moſt compleatly pervade our Frame, for any given Time, without manifeſting the minuteſt Document of either its Preſence, its Entrance, or its Exit.

A moſt unequivocal Eſtabliſhment of this analogous Fact, will, I truſt, in the Courſe of this Enquiry ſufficiently appear. I now proceed to it, and, without referring the Reader

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to a preceding Tract, I will, in few Words, ſtate the Heads of that intereſting Hypotheſis, which I many Years ago delivered to the Speculative World, and on which I ever thought, that the moſt important Concluſions might be fairly founded, its Reſult was ſimply this.

1ſt, That as Organization, *of whatever Kind*, is equally within the Power of the Deity, that of Spirit muſt, of Force, be ſo: And that, from the Subtilty and Activity of its component Parts, it muſt, when organized be of all others the moſt coercive.

2dly, That, from the well-known Properties of Air, ſuch a ſpiritual Agent would be capable of Contraction or Dilatation, to any conceivable Degree.

3dly, That, from our experimental Knowledge of Heat and Light, its pervaſive and diſſolvent Powers, would literally have no Limits, but ſuch as were aſſigned it by the Eternal Organizer.

4thly, That, from the aſtoniſhing Velocity of the Sun's Rays, its Activity may be fully conceived.

5thly, That, from the poſſible Reduction of almoſt every Subſtance, to Vapour, and from the

the indiſpenſible Neceſſity of that Spirit we call Air, in the Proceſs of all animal and vegetable Aſſimilation and Accretion, it appears highly probable that both Spirit and Matter, are in a mutual and conſtant State of Convertion, each to other.

6thly, That, the ſame aſſimilative Power which can, both in the animal and vegetable Species, encreaſe a ſcarcely viſible Embrio, to the enormous Volume of the Cedar or the Leviathan, ſufficiently ſuggeſt the Impartability of ſuch a Power, to a Spiritual Agent, as ſhould enable it, by a like Aſſimilation, either to encreaſe or contract its Figure to whatever aſtoniſhing and irreſiſtible Dimentions its Creator might be pleaſed to reſtrict it.

That all this is poſſible to the Deity, no Man who philoſophically contemplates the many permanent Wonders which he has manifeſtly wrought, will heſitate one Moment to believe. But, as every Man is not a Philoſopher, I will endeavour, by the Aſſiſtance above alluded to, ſo to elucidate and exemplify the different Articles of this Hypotheſis, as to bring their Conception, in a more preſentable

Form

Form to the immediate View and Comprehenſion of fair and common Reaſon.

Nothing will more advantageouſly enable us to proſecute this Undertaking, than analogous Examples, drawn from known and eſtabliſhed experimental Facts. Nor indeed, with leſs Hazard of Deception. For, as they will furniſh many viſible Inſtances upon a Scale ſufficiently adapted to ordinary Comprehenſion, ſo we may be well aſſured of their falling ſo infinitely ſhort of thoſe wrought by Omnipotence, as to preclude all Poſſibility of Error in our Concluſions.

That the *Solidity* of any Subſtance we are acquainted with, is no Impediment to its convertibility into Spirit, is ſufficiently exemplified in the chemical Reduction of Gold to ſuch Tenuity as to riſe in Vapor in the Alembic; or, by its mere Solution in its own Diſſolvent; whoſe Precipitate becomes (from Saturation with the Nitrous Acid) far more inflammable and exploſive than even Gunpowder itſelf.—That it is again reducible to its metallic State, is but corroborative of the fifth Article of our Hypotheſis.—That the *hardeſt* Subſtances are

equally

equally reducible to Spirit, has, by the late Experiments on the Inflammability of the Diamond, been placed beyond a Doubt. Nay more, they have been proved to conſiſt of a Phlogiſton ſo entirely pure and penetrative, as totally to pervade the Pores even of Glaſs, and in one Senſe to exceed in Subtilty the Particles even of Light, the Glaſs through which it was evaporated being opake.

To object, that an organized and animated Spirit compoſed of ſuch Materials, would, by its combuſtably active Qualities, be applicable only to immediate and irreſiſtible Deſtruction, will be but of ſlight Availment to the pertinacious Ingenuity of the Sceptic. A Spirit equally active, forcible and pervaſive, is not only producible by the moſt ſimple Proceſs of the Electrician, but it is with like Facility conveyable into our Bodies, which for any given Time may ſerve it as a common Conduit, with ſuch perfect Security and Inoffenſiveneſs as even to elude all Conſciouſneſs of its being there.

Shall we then deign a Refutation of Mr. Voltaire's petulent Queſtions concerning the diſtinct *Perception* of that divine Spirit which, though

though equally occupying and pervading our entire Frame, is by the Deity ſo perfectly *concealed and blended in it*, that they have grown up and augmented together from almoſt inviſible Minuteneſs.

The Prevalence and the Deception of Habit, is a further Obſtacle to that Demonſtration demanded by Mr. Voltaire; and, this Deception is far greater than the Unſpeculative dream of: as is manifeſt in the common Effects of Viſion. For, the Report of every Man concerning the Object that he views, though (from the imperceptible Habits of Calculation and Allowance which he has from his Infancy contracted by the involuntary Corrections of Experience) it is in itſelf true, or nearly ſo; is yet, in many Reſpects widely different from the *real Report* of Nature *on Retina:* in ſome, the diametrically Reverſe. And, could a Pair of perfect Eyes (without Injury from the ſudden unaccuſtomed Glare of Light) be, at Years of Maturity, *for the firſt Time* applied to ſeveral Objects placed at varied Diſtances, Nothing is more certain than that the Owner of a Caſe of Eyes *ſo circumſtanced*, would, not only, tell you every Object he beheld was placed upon its Head,

Head, with the Earth above it, but he would perceive ſuch wonderful Diminutions of Size, from every Variation of Diſtance, as would appear even ridiculouſly inconſiſtent with the actual Dimenſions of the Objects.

A *Suppoſition* analogous to this, if fairly ſtated and conſidered, however impoſſible in itſelf, would, by an imaginary Counteraction of immemorial Habit, greatly facilitate the Ability of anſwering Mr. Voltaire's Queſtion. Were it *naturally* poſſible for a human Being to exiſt in mature and perfect State, *without a Spirit*, and (that like the Statue of Pigmalion) it were at once inſpired by the Deity with animation; I cannot doubt but, from a Creature thus abruptly conſtructed, and conſequently devoid of Prejudice as of Habits, if it were, likewiſe, gifted with ſpeculative Diſcernment and Diſcourſe. We ſhould obtain a very ſatisfactory Anſwer concerning the Operation, Influence, and Effect of his *newly received Spirit*.

The above is ſo connected with my Subject that I can ſcarcely call it a Digreſſion; but, to return to it. Independent of ſupernatural Operations, are we not ourſelves obliged, (in

whatever Undertaking any violent and expeditive Force is requiſite) to call in the Aid of Spirit, Spirit too of our own Production?—Do we not? in the Steam-Engine, by the active Mediation of one Spirit, compel a rather heavy Liquid to aſſume the Form of another: and by forced and continued Alternations of Rarefaction and Condenſation, has not even the circumſcribed Wit of Man produced, however relatively coarſe, a beneficial Piece of active Organiſm, which is now become his primary Agent in many a laborious Proceſs?—Has he not in actual Operation, anticipated my Hypotheſis, by his incongruous though uſeful Imitations of ſuperior Agency?—Would he rive the ſolid Rock, or propel the moſt heavy Subſtances with a Velocity and to a Diſtance unattainable by any other human Means, is he not? again reduced to adoperate the Power of Spirit. And does he not? by the Application of the ſmalleſt Spark of Fire, to Combinations of actually *ſolid Subſtance*, in one Inſtant, as by Magic, produce that active Spirit.

But what are theſe? to the extenſive and tremendous Ravages of Wind and Lightning. Yet,

Yet even the moſt powerful Effects of Wind, he can, by Confinement and Condenſation, imitate; as, by the Electric Power, he can produce the other. Both indeed in Miniature, ſufficiently, however, to *indentifie* their reſpective Agencies, and to aſcertain their undoubted Spirituality.

Let us then candidly acknowledge, not only that Spirit is of all Agents the moſt powerful, but that, in preciſe Conformity of Principle, *that* which is the lighteſt and moſt rarefied, is in a like Proportion the moſt coercive. The Sun's collected Beams being, of all others, known to us, the moſt intenſely ſo.

Since, in the Face of theſe notorious Inſtances neither the compulſive Agency of Spirit, nor the ſudden Convertability of Subſtance into it, will be diſputed; all that can be objected to this Hypotheſis, is, that in each of the above Examples, the Intervention of ſome merely *material* Machinery, having been found neceſſary, though the Powers of Spirit be undeniable, yet is it by Confinement only, that its Effects can be advantageouſly applied.

That by *human Means or Ingenuity* Spirit is no otherwiſe applicable to mechanical Pur-

poſes, I readily admit, nor indeed, did I originally propoſe it as the Actuator of human Machinery. What I am labouring to eſtabliſh, is, that its Tenuity or ſeeming Immateriality, far from diminiſhing its Force, is on the contrary, characteriſtic of an invariable Exceſs of it.—In this, ſurely I have ſucceeded, and if it be acknowledged that, *to Matter*, its Powers are irreſiſtible, even in the ſcanty Portions and by the unweildy Means that our beſt Efforts can deviſe, of what indeed! muſt it be ſuſceptible, when organized by the exquiſite Contrivance of the Divine Artificer.

To have demonſtrated the Adequacy of theſe rarefied Materials to ſuch powerful, immediate, and extenſive Efforts is, in Truth, virtually to have proved them organized; and Organization being *conſequently*, found compatible with Spirit of the extremeſt Tenuity, let us try how far the active Cauſe of magnetical Effects, of whatever Claſs, may be conformable to this Concluſion.

Every Atom with which our Senſes or our Speculations are converſant, excepting Ether is, demonſtrably, under the Influence of Attraction, though by the general Term of Gravity.

vity. * But, as this Quality is, by ſome natural Subſtances, capable of being perverted from its *central* Tendency, and as this Power is by ſeveral known and eaſy Proceſſes communicable to others, among which Iron is by far the moſt ſuſceptible (either in its paſſive or its active Senſe) of this *anomalous* Kind of Gravitation, termed, in this Inſtance, Magnetiſm. Whether this Object of its Influence, when excited in a high Degree, be *driven* into Contact with an unexcited Bar of that Metal, by ſome inviſible *outward Impulſe*, or actuated by an *intermediate Niſus*, who ſhall determine? But, when I perceive between two unglutinated Bodies, on their Approach to each other, an inſtantaneous Coheſion, equalling a Weight of three hundred Pounds. And when common Senſe and my Experience inform me, that ſuch powerful Effects cannot be produced without the Intervention of external Agency: though it be of a Nature ſo exceedingly ſubtile

* I am *now* convinced by many Arguments drawn from the Action of *Light*, that its Particles are totally devoid of Gravity, that is *Attraction*, although clearly *Material*; without which they could not be *Elaſtic*, which they are in a Degree far beyond any Thing that Men generally conceive.

as to elude every Attempt to Inveſtigation, yet, am I ſurely juſtified by the faireſt Parity of Reaſoning, to conclude that, as the Air I breath, although alike inviſible (is from the Demonſtration of Experiment, ſpongious and elaſtic) and by Conſequence *organized*. So muſt the acting Power of Attraction, manifeſtly be, although the ſpecific Manner of its Organiſm have not yet received the irradiating Beams of that univerſal Elucidator Experience.

Admitting theſe Concluſions to be, as I ſincerely think they are, fairly drawn, we have here, an incontrovertable Inſtance of exceedingly active (although inviſible) Organiſm, totally free from any Dependence on the *Confinement of encloſing Machinery*.—For its coercive Powers, I refer every one who is converſant with the *Compound Horſeſhoe Magnet* to the mere Evidence of his Eyeſight. And, for the aſtoniſhingly extenſive Influence of Gravitation, in its general Senſe (which is undoubtedly actuated by a ſimilar Principle) the Reader has but to conſult the *Principia* of the truely enlightened Newton: Where, he will find that Influence to reach (by an almoſt inconceivable Concatenation of Spiritual Organiſm)

niſm) not only, from this *terreſtrial* Globe to that of the Sun, a Diſtance comprehending *eighty-two Million of Miles*, but, to be likewiſe, expanded, throughout the whole Planetary Syſtem. Each individual Orb of which, is demonſtrably actuated by its Attractive or gravitating Principle, in an aſcertainable Proportion to the reſpective Volume and Diſtance of the other Planets.

This ſingle Inſtance of an inviſible organized Spirit whoſe Extent and Powers, however vaſt, are yet eſtabliſhed, not by the bare *Ipſe dixit* of Sir Iſaac Newton, but, by the preciſeſt Correſpondence of Calculations reſulting from the Diſtance, Magnitude and Revolutions of the reſpective Planets; is, notwithſtanding our Ignorance of its Mode of acting, alone ſufficient to convey ſome Idea both of Omnipreſenſe and Omnipotence.

That attractive Organiſm, though probably ſimilar in its general Principle, is yet variouſly modified and ſpecifically appropriated, is evident even to our limitted Knowledge of it, in the three Examples of Gravitation, Magnetiſm, and Electrical Attractions. Independent of that, which is common between Capillary

Tubes of whatever Compoſition, and the Liquid of whatever Kind, that is placed in Contract, with their Extremities.

By whatever incomprehenſibly active Power the Rays of Light are propelled from the Object where they are generated (and that they are ſo from the Sun's Orb to ours in the very inconſiderable Space of eight Minutes, is ſufficiently notorious) the exceſſive Velocity with which they rebound from ſuch opake Subſtances as they are not calculated to penetrate, clearly, by their *Elaſticity*, eſtabliſhes their Organiſm. That Rays of Light are *individually* condenſible, or only collectible into a Point by Refraction and Reflection, would be an Enquiry little to our Purpoſe, even if the ſhort Duration of their *luminous* Exiſtence did not preclude the Poſſibility of its Inveſtigation.—But, for their wonderful Tenuity, both their Paſſage through the denſe Body of Glaſs, and the little Injury with which (notwithſtanding their prodigious Velocity) they are received upon our Bodies, amply evince.

Before I proceed further in this Enquiry, I will again venture to repeat my Suppoſition that, the Elements of which theſe wonderous

Agents

Agents were originally compoſed, have, however inconceivably! ariſen from that Infinity of, *till then*, unconnectible etherial Atoms which had from all Eternity floated in the boundleſs Regions of Obſcurity. And that they now, by the firſt creative Act of God's inherent Omnipotence, received, together with their Organiſm and Aptitudes to material Contexture, their *phyſical Exiſtence*. And, as I am inclined to truſt that the ſagacious Reader is, by this Time, ſomewhat familiarized to the Idea of ſpiritual Organiſm, and its irriſiſtible Powers, it may be neither inexpedient to the Progreſs of our Speculation, nor fallacious in the Way of Argument, both to indulge and to ſtate ſuch conſequently concurring Conjectures as, if even diſtantly approaching to the Truth, may facilitate our Conceptions of the actual Fact.

It is ſurely Nothing derogatory to Omnipotence to admit that, in erecting the vaſt Fabric of the Univerſe, the Agency of ſpiritual Beings of his own Creation, might have been employed: (however excluſively perſonal the Creation of the Elements) nor is it inconſiſtent with the Variety of all *viſible* Creation, to

ſuppoſe

ſuppoſe the Powers of theſe wonderous Agents widely different from each other, both in Deſcription and in Extent.—In the Front of the leaſt exalted Claſs, may well be numbered Four, which though widely differing in their Properties, and perhaps in their Extent, are yet alike important.

The ſubtile Spirit of Attraction may deſervedly take the Lead, ſince (in its various Modifications) it pervades the univerſal planetary Syſtem, and by its active Operation (throughout that aſtoniſhing Space which is the Scene of its rotatory Progreſs) in ſome Inſtances connects and regulates the various Detail of each individual Orb, in others, by its unremitting Mediation, counterpoiſes, actuates, and I had almoſt ſaid, animates the Whole.

After this, may well be placed the Air, that pleaſing and univerſal *Pabulum*, which, as it ſeems the neceſſary Aliment of all Things, is, in its Turn, re-producible by every Subſtance whatever.

Light may be thirdly ranked, the Offspring of Fire, if not a milder Fire itſelf: which, beſides the general Warmth and the delightful Benefits of Viſion, that it was ſo benevolently calcu-

calculated to diffuſe throughout the Univerſe, ſerves likewiſe to concoct and liquifie that Subſtance which had, without its Aid continued in the Form of Ice. And could have adminiſtered its aſſimilable Properties neither to Life nor Vegetation.

Fourthly the electric Spirit, which, by the often perilous Vigour of its tremendous Conquaſſations, and by the rapid Diſtribution of its deobſtruent and active Particles, ſerves probably, as an occaſional Corrector of that elſe ſtagnant and torpid Tendency, which the heterogeneous Admixtures and the unremitting Niſus of the forgoing Spirits might have been elſe obnoxious to; as is manifeſted by its, perhaps indiſpenſable, Agency in the Direction and Diſcharge of rain-fraught Clouds.

There are perhaps many other Spirits of this merely miniſterial Species, yet undiſcovered, but, for theſe, Nothing can be leſs equivocal than their Exiſtence. That three of them have the Property of pervading every Subſtance whatever, and that they are all four capable of at once exiſting in the ſame Space or Veſſel, without Impediment to each other, naturally leads to the Contemplation of ſuch higher

higher Orders of ſpiritual Being, as, when compoſed of all theſe active Materials, and gifted, by their Creator, with aſſimilative Powers and rational Intellect, in a Degree proportioned to their deſtined Agency, would be adequately ſuited to the Conſtruction even of Worlds.

By aſſimilative Powers, I would be underſtood to mean, not barely the Accretion or Augmentation of their Volume by whatever Quantity of all or either of the above ſpiritual Materials, but likewiſe, the *excretory* Faculty, of inſtantly diſcarding whatever Quantity they had aſſimilated of either, and in whatever Form or Subſtance theſe *notoriouſly convertible* Materials * could, by the coercive Faculties of ſuch ſuperior Agency, be wrought and moulded into. And, when we every where perceive theſe Properties exiſting (with however ſlow an Operation) in the whole animal and vegetable

* A ſimple but ſufficiently extenſive Inſtance of theſe Faculties, even in unanimated Spirit, is perpetually preſented to us, in the immenſe Volumes of Water hourly extracted in Vapour from the Ocean, and transferred in the Shape of Hail, Snow, or Rain, to ſuch Regions of the Earth as muſt, without this providential Agency, have been parched up, uſeleſs, and uninhabited.

Tribes,

Tribes, and *naturally* changing their Figures and augmenting their Volume from even the minuteſt *Germ*, to the moſt enormous Magnitude. Surely the Transfer of ſome analogous Proceſs, (however rapid and extenſive in its Effects) to ſuch intellectual Spirits as were adapted and organized to theſe expreſs Purpoſes by their Creator, is too conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt Parity of Reaſoning, to put Imagination to a Moment's Effort.

If Analogy may be our Guide, we are fairly juſtified by all we can diſcover in the Nature of inanimate Spirit, to ſuppoſe that even when animated by the Deity, it is ſtill ſubjected to the *actual Neceſſity of ſome Species of* * *Reſtorative Aſſimilation*, independent of the extenſive Faculties above alluded to. For, we are converſant with no Spirit whatever, that can long ſubſiſt without Refreſhment or Renewal. Even Air, the apparent *Pabulum* of every other Spirit, being itſelf of ſo impermanent a Nature, as to be impairable in its elaſtic Powers, by mere

* I am highly flattered with having lately diſcovered that, *Milton* had the ſame Idea, with, indeed, ſeveral other Opinions, of which I, 'till then, believed myſelf to have been the firſt Suggeſter.

Con-

Confinement in a well cloſed Veſſel, if it be of any conſiderable Duration. Yet, that a phyſical Sufficiency to their own Exiſtence may be allotted to the varied Orders of intellectual Spirits, in a Degree proportioned to their reſpective Powers, Purity, and Exaltation is, I think, highly probable; but that the DEITY ALONE perfectly ſuffices to himſelf, in this, as in all other Inſtances, is the clear Reſult of every Argument that Imagination can poſſibly ſuggeſt.

That one Species of Spirit may maintain a diſtinct Exiſtence in another, without Riſque of being loſt or *blended with it*, the protracted one of Flame in its ſurrounding Medium of Air, moſt manifeſtly proves. As does the Spirit of ferruginous or magnetic *Attraction*, which though encompaſſed by a Medium that, beſides being of a ſimilar Nature with itſelf, is of Force ſufficient to be the Actuator and Controller of Worlds, yet ſerves, by its powerful Example, of *partial and local Efficacy* (even under theſe Circumſtances) clearly to ſuggeſt one, among the many poſſible Modes of inviſible *ſuperior Agency*. And for rapid Dilatations, inſtantaneous Contractions, and the moſt ſudden

ſudden and unequivocal *Change of Subſtance:* if the nitrous Exploſions, and the condenſing Proceſs of the Steam Engine, fail of enforcing the moſt convictive Analogie, we muſt be perverſe and ſceptical indeed.

Should the Delicacy of ſome over-nice Philoſopher be anywiſe alarmed by the above *Excretory Faculty*, let him but reflect upon the Origin of thoſe ſilken Ornaments ſo extenſively enjoyed by the moſt Opulent and Elegant of every civilized Nation; nor need I add that documental Inſtance of treple Transformation, which ſo very aptly is ſuggeſted by the poor Worm that is its Parent.

But, in the Spiders inimitable Parallels, we have a yet more ſuggeſtive Inſtance of this wonderous Faculty. Here, when we diſcover how very amply he is furniſhed (from thoſe Materials he had ſo lately aſſimilated to his own Frame) with the Means of founding, not only the ſpacious Manſion he ſhall inhabit, but of widely ſpreading his powerful Toils for the Enſnarement of his future Prey. When we, contemplate in this extraordinary Specimen, the ſubjective Powers and amazing Tranſmutations attendant on the, even, natural

Effects

Effects of *Aſſimilation* and *Excretion*. And when we unite to this, the mutual Convertibility of Spirit and of Matter, with the aſtoniſhingly coercive Properties of the Firſt; may we not from this Example, (which ſeems with many others* ordained, but, for our Inſtruction) eaſily conceive

* That the Contrivances and the Fabrications of the inſtinctive Tribes, had (beſides the very important Inferences they gave riſe to, and many other providential Views) *that* of Man's original Inſtruction, I cannot doubt. For, as the human Race are fairly proved, by Mr. Locke, to be without innate Ideas; ſo there is ſcarcely any Knowledge neceſſary to Man's Preſervation or Convenience, which may not be collected from one or other of the inſtinctive Operations. While the preceding Sheet is actually at the Preſs, I am both flattered and pleaſed to find, by a Paſſage in poor Johnſon's Raſſelas, which had eſcaped my Attention Twenty Years ago, that nearly the ſame Idea had occurred to him. "*It has been the Opinion of Antiquity*, ſaid Imlac, *that human Reaſon borrowed many Arts from the Inſtinct of Animals.*"—But, further, though in the human Race, Knowledge be attainable *ſolely* by Experience, Analogy, and Inference, and through the Mediation of the Five Senſes, yet, that this is far from being its only poſſible Paſſage or Means of Acceſs into the Mind, inſtinctive or *innate Sagacity* (though in the Brute Creation) ſufficiently evinces. For, that neither the apparent Ingenuity of their reſpective Fabrics, nor the aſtoniſhing Addreſs with which they are conſtructed, are the Reſult of Experience, has been already demonſtrated. It therefore manifeſtly follows that, Knowledge being in a thouſand Inſtances evidently impartable to the *Mind, immediately*. And without the Intervention of the corporeal Senſes, the only ſpecious

conceive that, to analogous Powers veſted in a ſpiritual Being (if they were unreſtricted) all the Elements in Nature would be ſubſervient: and, if we again conſider this little Inſect extending his Senſations and his Means of Intelligence by the Mediation of tremulous Lines (alike reſulting from his own *animal Reſources*) may we not? by an imaginary Transfer of this Faculty, enlarged by the moſt obvious Sug-

cious Argument of the Atheiſt and *Ante-Animiſt*, is hereby moſt effectually invalidated. It is in this View that I have appealed ſo often to the unvarying Identity of appropriate Inſtincts. In this Axiom we are, further, preſented with the unequivocal Solution of a moſt intereſting Problem: Why? when every terreſtrial Animal in the Creation ſwims, on its very firſt Attempt, and *in a Manner appropriate to its Kind*, the human Race are *alone* unable to do it, unleſs taught by long and often repeated Experience.—Can there be a more convincing Proof of the reſpective Appropriation of Inſtinct, or *innate Sagacity* in Brutes, or of the moſt compleat Excluſion of every Idea in *Man*, which does not enter his Mind by *Experience*, and through the Medium of the five Senſes? Inſtinct being, in this *marked Inſtance* clearly imparted by the Deity, at the very Birth of the Creature: for, caſt a Kitten, or any other Quadruped into a Pail of Water, even a ſingle Hour after that Period, and it will, infallibly, ſwim.

This, with many other phyſical Phænomena, appears to be an Inſtance, ordained *expreſſly* for our Inſtruction, I might ſay, Conviction, for though not immediately obvious to Diſcovery it comes home, when pointed out, to the plaineſt Underſtanding.

geſtions of analogical Speculation, eaſily attain to Ideas little ſhort of Omnipreſenſe and Omniſcience.

As *Cicero*, in his Enquiry *de Natura Deorum*, comprizes every Thing relative to that important Subject, in the Stoic and Epicurean Doctrines, and in the Academician's Comments on them: it may not *now* be foreign to my Undertaking, to conſider, at leaſt, the leading Principle of each: with the moſt concluſive Obſervations of the Latter, as probably conveying the genuine Opinions of *Cicero*.—Varying from my Author, *only*, in an Adherence to the *Unity of God*.

The firſt Speaker, *Velleus*, could not, as an Epicurean, conſiſtently, advance any other Argument for the Exiſtence of the Deity, nor indeed, a ſtronger, than, that every Nation of the, then known World was invariably of that Opinion: and, that, what every Man agreed in, muſt neceſſarily be true.—So far, I myſelf readily admit: not, however, for the Reaſon *he* aſſigns, *viz.* the *natural Inherency* of that general Opinion. But, becauſe, *the ſame* invariable Return of Seaſons, *the ſame* permanent Identity of Species with their reſpective Inſtincts,

ſtincts, and many other providential Phœnomena, being as univerſal as that human Intellect which almoſt involuntarily draws its Inferences from them; the *ſame Concluſions of a ſupreme Director* muſt be of Force *every where* the Conſequence.

For *Velleus*'s Objections to that laborious, unremitting Watchfulneſs aſcribed to the Deity by the Stoics, I confeſs I am by no Means ſo offended with it, as *in this Part of the Oration, Cotta* affects to be. Nor can I think there is much either of Dignity or of Conſiſtency, in the merely Miniſterial Office that both the antient Stoics and the modern Clergy, ſeem determined ſo liberally to *aſſign* Him.— I have already given what I think ſufficient Reaſons for this Opinion, and indeed when we reflect on the Exiſtence of unnumbered Worlds beſides our own, and that *they* may likewiſe be the *probatory Stations* of a proportional Number of Inhabitants, ſurely there is more Dignity, more Conſiſtency, and at leaſt as much Equity, implied in paſſing condign Sentence upon the Whole, on a *retroſpective* View of their individual Merits, than in the dull and

unremitting Proſpect of human Actions, in their miſerable Detail.

For the perſonal Beauty of the Deity, which he idly compares to that of Man: it is the obvious Reſult of merely popular Prejudice, and as ſuch is ridiculed by *Cottà* with all the Wit that *Cicero* could dictate on ſo very wretched an Occaſion. In Truth, Nothing can be more arrogant than *any how* to perſonifie the Deity. Nor ſo abſurd as to aſſign any Figure whatever to *omnipreſent Spirit*. The Formation of the Univerſe, from a blind Jumble of Atoms! is ſcarcely more ſo.

Were I to enumerate all the ſtoical Opinions that are in this Debate reprobated or defended by theſe two Opponents: it would be but encreaſing the Volume of my own Tract, by a Tranſlation, or a Tranſcription of *Cicero*'s, who ſeems to have amaſſed all the exploded Opinions he could collect, for the ſole Purpoſe of ſubmitting them to the pointed Ridicule of *Cotta*'s Wit. The unequivocal Reſult of *Balbus*'s Oration is, to inculcate that not only the World which we inhabit, is a Deity, with the Sun, and every individual Orb of the Planetary Syſtem.

Syſtem. But likewiſe to aſſign Divinity to every fixed Star in the Firmament: And to ſupport this abſurd Doctrine by a moſt laboured and ſurely, tedious Train of ſcarcely ſpecious Sophiſtry. But, as there is, *however*, a Sentence near the End of this Oration, which, *virtually*, revokes the Whole, it cannot but be intereſting to tranſcribe it.

Principio ipſe mundus, Deorum hominumque cauſa factus eſt: quæque in eo ſunt omnia, ea parata ad fructum hominum et inventa ſunt. Eſt enim mundus, quaſi communis Deorum atque hominum domus, aut urbs utrorumque.—What is moſt extraordinary is, that this is paſſed over by *Cotta*, without the leaſt Notice whatever. But, as I preſume *Cicero*'s actual Opinion, is to be rather ſought for in the Academician's Refutation and in his Remarks, than in the *laſt evaſive Line of his Eſſay*, I will, likewiſe, tranſcribe two very intereſting Paragraphs of *Cotta*'s.

After quoting Numbers of Inſtances, in which the moſt worthy Men had ſuffered for Want of the Deity's timely Interference, and as many more, wherein the moſt Sacrilegious and Abandoned, had yet, ended their Days

happily. Leaſt (I preſume) the *Moſaical Mode of Puniſhment* ſhould be objected to him as ſtill in reſerve. He adds: *At Deo ne excuſatio quidam eſt inſcientiæ: Quem vos preclaræ defenditis, cum dicitis, eam vim Deorum eſſe, ut, etiam ſi quis morte pœnas ſceleris effugerit, expectantur eæ pœnæ à liberis, à nepotibus, à poſteris. O miram Æquitatem Deorum! ferretne ulla civitas latorem iſtiuſmodi legis? Ut condemnetur filius, aut nepos, ſi pater aut avus deliquiſſet?* And again, alluding to the Deſtruction of Corinth and Carthage. *Hi duos illos oculos oræ maritimæ effoderunt: non iratus alicui, quem omnino iraſci poſſe negatis Deum. At ſubvenire certe potuit, et conſervare urbeis tantas, atque taleis. Vos enim ipſi dicere ſoletis, nihil eſſe, quod Deus efficere non poſſit, et quidem ſine labore ullo: Ut enim hominum membra nulla contentione, mente ipſa, ac voluntate moveantur, ſic numine Deorum omnia fingi, moveri, mutarique poſſe. Neque id dicitis ſuperſticioſe, atque aniliter, ſed phyſica conſtantique ratione: Materiam enim rerum, ex qua, et in qua omnia ſint, totam eſſe flexibilem, et commutabilem; ut nihil fit, quod non ex ea quamvis ſubito fingi, convertique poſſit. Ejus autem univerſæ fictricem, et moderatricem* divinam

nam eſſe providentiam. *Hanc igitur, quocunque ſe moveat, efficere poſſe quicquid velit. Itaque, aut neſcit quid poſſit, aut negligit res humanas, aut, quid ſit optimum, non poteſt judicare. Non curat ſingulos homines, non mirum: Ne civitatis quidem. Non eas? Ne nationes quidem, et genteis. Quod ſi has etiam contemnet, quid mirum eſt, omne ab ea genus humanum eſſe contemptum?*

By the Paſſage from *Balbus*, it appears evidently that the Stoics might be reduced by Argument, though with ſome Reluctance, to abandon the groſs Idea of the material Word's Divinity. And by Part of *Cotta*'s Remark, it appears as plainly, that under the Appellation of *Divine Providence*, they virtually acknowledged the Unity of God. Although in Reſpect to popular Prejudice, and in Compliance with long eſtabliſhed Forms, they evaded as much as poſſible the Confeſſion of it, by affecting both to perſonifie and to multiply their Deities. And though *Cotta* in his Anſwer to *Velleus* affects to ſmile at the *inactive* Gods of *Epicurus*, yet, is he, himſelf, in the End reduced, both, candidly to confeſs and to exemplify in at leaſt twenty Inſtances, their total

Inatten-

Inattention to every human Concern. By which Conceſſion he actually differs in Nothing eſſential, from *Velleus*, except in the original Formation of the Univerſe.

Hence, as I at firſt aſſerted, it fairly follows that, by the annexing of *Probation* to *their* Syſtems (as thus reconciled) with Free Will, which is ſo eſſential to it, and that *Impartiality*, miſ-termed by *Cotta* Inattention, and likewiſe, the *unreſtrained Influence of worldly Evil* (in Default of which, no Temptation to Error could poſſibly exiſt,) theſe adverſe Sects might be, not only rendered compatible with each other, but their religious Opinions might be nearly brought to quadrate with what I ſincerely think the only unaſſailable and ſound Ones, thoſe of RATIONAL THEISM. Nor can I doubt but, if the Antients had been aided by the Diſcoveries I have alluded to, they would, long ſince, have eſtabliſhed the moſt intelligible Notions of Spirituality. And would have been enabled to convey the moſt clear Ideas of that Omnipotence which was ſo implicitly admitted by the Stoics.

Without treſpaſſing upon the Patience of my Reader, by a tedious Recapitulation of the

the various Powers of Spirit, or of that moſt incomprehenſibly coercive one Attraction.—When we conſider that, though it is of a Subtility, perhaps exceeding that of Light, its Influence is, yet, extended with demonſtrable and unremitting Energy and Effect, throughout a Space of three thouſand Million of Miles: And over Bodies of a Magnitude near ten thouſand Times ſurpaſſing the Globe that we inhabit: Can we be poſſibly at a Loſs for Ideas of Omnipreſenſe?—And when our Contemplations are ſtill higher raiſed, to the exalted Powers of that Divine Artificer by whom this Spirit was ordained but as an Engine, a mere *unanimated* Agent! What? ſhort of Omnipotence is the Reſult?—Nay, ſhould we be tempted to aſpire at a rational Conception of even the firſt great Act of *Elementary Creation*, when, BEING ALONE EXISTING, ſome Plea might be, indeed, alledged for the laborious Office aſſigned Him by the Stoics.—The convertive and diſcriminating Phœnomena attendant on the *Fermentative Proceſs*, however, in themſelves trite, aided by the foregoing *Data*; would be alone ſufficient to ſuggeſt ſome glimmering Idea, of this aſtoniſhing Event

Event. And we might almoſt (with the ſublime Poet) figure to our adventurous Imaginations how the all-procreative Spirit of the Deity, having by one boundleſs act of Expanſion, prevaded and entirely occupied the Infinity of Space, "*ſat brooding on the vaſt Abyſs, and made it pregnant.*"—With that univerſal and inveſtive * Contact, from which, no Degree, of Comminution could protect, with that plaſtic and coercive Preſſure, to which no Atom could be inſenſible, and *perhaps*, by the parental Impartment and Commixture of ſome qualifying Portion of his own eternal Eſſenſe.

That, when the Elements were once produced, their reſpective Organiſm aſſigned them, and the great primary, *unanimated* Spirits compoſed: The Deity ſhould have *then* created *Intellectual Agents*, who by the occaſional *Aſſimilation* of theſe Materials could aſſort, convey, arrange, and (by an Operation analogous to that natural excretory and fabricatory Power

* When we conſider that the electric and magnetic Powers are communicable by the bare *ſuperficial* Contact of inanimate Subſtance, can we one Inſtant? heſitate to conceive the irriſiſtible Effects of omnipotent Spirit thus intimately blended (if I may ſo expreſs it) with that *formleſs Ether* which it had deſtined and ſelected, and was now actually compelling into *phyſical Exiſtence.*

already

already inſtanced) depoſit them in ſuch Forms as were by the DEITY previouſly deviſed, is by no Means difficult of Comprehention.—And whether, when the univerſal Fabric was compleated, its component Parts might be *themſelves* reſpectively endued with Properties adequate to the permanent Maintenance and Supply of its infinitely varied Members: or, whether, it be ſubjected to the unremitting Superintendence of intellectual Spirits; through whoſe miniſterial Mediation, the Deity is, ſtill, *virtually* omnipreſent; is what muſt remain, in this Life, an impenetrable Myſtery. But, which ever, or whatever be the Fact, the *Seceſſion* of the Deity from ſuch manifeſtly unneceſſary Attentions, is no more incompatible with eternal Bounty and Omnipotence, than the total Prohibition of his miniſterial Spirits from all Interference whatever with ſuch accidental Effects, as the Evils conſequently attendant on a *Probatory State* muſt of Neceſſity produce, accounts moſt rationally for that EVIL'S ORIGIN.

Thus we may perceive, the ever conſiſtent Deity, far from having manifeſted a Partiality, by the *alledged* Adoption of a depraved and loath-

loathſome People: Far from having deſcended perſonally to dictate, not only their Laws, their prieſtly Trappings, Ceremonies, and bloody Sacrifices, but even the fulſome Detail of their moſt private Conduct, under unjuſt Penalties, and ſuch Rewards as to any other Nation had been diſgraceful.—Far, indeed! from having deigned to be himſelf the imperfect Blazoner of his own tranſcendent Attributes: has on the contrary, by the providential Ordainment of countleſs ſpeculative Phœnomena, virtually invalidated all ſuch derogatory Traditions. Well foreſeeing that, under the Contemplations of that reaſoning Intellect which he had ſo benevolently imparted to the *whole human Race*, *they* would be, *alone* amply productive of every *Inference* that could any how tend, either to the Suggeſtion and Eſtabliſhment of *Moral Precepts* to the Demonſtration of his invariable Equity, or to a rational Conception of his ETERNAL BOUNTY AND OMNIPOTENCE.

FINIS.

First Printed in 1787.

A

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

PHYSICAL ENQUIRY

INTO THE

POWERS and PROPERTIES

OF

SPIRIT, &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

AS there are, beſides what I have already remarked, ſeveral Parts of Mr. *Voltaire's* phyſical and metaphyſical Doctrines, which are irreconcilable with my own; (though upon the Whole I think the World exceedingly indebted to him) A few Comments on them which although intimately connected with the preceding Tract, might have yet interrupted the Thread of it, may, not improperly as a Poſtſcript, be now annexed.

I ſhall obſerve little Order in their Diſpoſal, but ſet them down in the detached Manner they have occurred. And, though I find, the Commentary on *Mallebranche*, one of the Papers I have, in Part, differed from, to be in Fact, written by Abbé *Tilladet*, yet, as the ſame Sentiments recur in ſome Shape, and often in the very identical Words throughout every Volume of Mr. *Voltaire's* Philoſophical Works, I have the leſs ſcrupled to conſider him as, at leaſt their adoptive Owner.

That the extream Caution of the *Academics* is, in general, highly laudable, no true Lover of Science will denie: I cannot therefore wonder that Mr. *Voltaire* ſhould have been ſo declared an Enemy to mere Syſtem and Hypotheſis. But, as there are many Truths which, though in themſelves undoubted, could yet, never have been eſtabliſhed by palpable Experiment or ocular Demonſtration; ſurely, in every Inſtance where Analogy and fair Inference are, *likewiſe*, the only poſſible Proofs to be obtained, their Admiſſion in ſuch Caſe, can be no juſt Impeachment of philoſophical Caution. And as this celebrated Writer himſelf has, on the ſole Preſumption of one haſty Inference, roundly aſcribed the *Origin of Evil*, to God's Inability of creating a more commodious World! he ſhould have been, ſurely, more indulgent to the Tranſgreſſors againſt this academic Rule.—How far he was juſtified in a Concluſion ſo totally inconſiſtent with every Idea of OMNIPOTENCE, my preceding Tracts have, I truſt, already evinced.

As the ſeventh Section of *Memmius*'s ſuppoſed Treatice, is as elegant as it is regular and laboured

laboured, though erroneous, I have here tranſcribed it at Length.

Quelques philoſophes me crient, DIEU *eſt éternel, infini, tout-puiſſant, il pouvait donc défendre au mal d'entrer dans ſon edifice admirable.*

Prenez garde, mes amis, s'il l'a pu, & s'il ne l'a pas fait, vous le declarez méchant; vous en faites notre perſécuteur, notre bourreaux, & non pas notre DIEU.

Il eſt éternel ſans dout. Des qu'il exiſte quelque etre, il exiſte un etre de toute éternite; ſans quoi le neant donnerait l'exiſtence. La nature eſt éternelle, l'intelligence qui l'anime eſt eternelle. Mais d'où ſavons-nous-qu'elle eſt infinie? La nature eſt-elle infinie? Qu'eſt-ce que l'infinie actuel? Nous ne connaiſſons que des bornes; il eſt vraiſemblable que la nature a les ſiennes; le vuide*

* Beſides the manifeſt Arrogancy of aſſerting that a *Vacuum* muſt limit the Powers of the DEITY, or bound the Extent of his Creation; to which laſt, however, no Mortal ever aſcribed Infinity; it would be, I fear, difficult to eſtabliſh, even the phyſical *Neceſſity* of a perfect *general Vacuum*, much more its actual Exiſtence.

Whether Mr. *Voltaire* was induced by the Triumph to be obtained from exploding the *Deſcartian* Syſtem, or by his juſt Prejudice in Favor of Sir *Iſaac Newton*, ſo repeatedly to inſiſt on his beloved *Vacuum*, I will not take on me to determine, but, that

en eſt un preuve. Si la nature eſt limitee, pourquoi l'intelligence ſuprême ne le ſerait-elle pas? Pourquoi ce DIEU *qui ne peut être que dans la nature, s'etendrait-il plus loin qu' elle? Sa puiſſance eſt très grande: Mais qui nous a dit qu'elle*

that every phyſical Advantage which could poſſibly reſult from the Admiſſion of it, may be equally obtainable by *Mediums of varied Rarefaction*, appears to me as evident, as that it is, probably, the actual Fact; but ſo determined an *anté-Deſcartian* is Mr. *Voltaire*, that (when *Newton* barely hints his Sufpicion of an univerſally pervading Spirit, adminiſtering, perhaps, to Light and to Attraction) he, with his never failing Wit (ſuppoſing it a temporary Apoſtacy,) concludes him actuated by that ſame ill-fated Diſpoſition which could engage even ſo wiſe and great a Man, ſeriouſly! to comment the Apocalypſe.—Though, to be candid, I am not clear if this ſevere Sarcaſm was not drawn upon him by his Suppoſition that the Earth's Moiſture would be in Time exhauſted, by animal and vegetable Aſſimilation.

Whatever has Exiſtence, is *material*, in what Degree ſoever ſubtilized: Whether the Spirit of Attraction, or that of Light be moſt ſo, will be a Problem perhaps ever beyond the Reach of human Intellect: But, to any one expoſed to the focal Ray of a concave Mirrour, the powerful Activity with which Light rebounds from its Surface will as fully aſcertain its *Materiality*, as the Preſſure of any heavy Burthen will enforce a moſt unequivocal Aſſent to that of *central Attraction*.

We do not, perhaps, enough conſider that we are yet, but at the Dawn of phyſical Science: Bacon's Contributions, however highly extolled, were, at beſt, only conjectural; and though a very few of thoſe Conjectures among the Multitude he has hazarded

qu'elle eſt infinie, quand ſes ouvrage nous montrent le contraire? Quand le ſeule reſſource qui nous reſte pour le diſculper eſt d'avouer que ſon pouvoir n'a pu triompher du mal phyſic et moral? Ceres jâime mieux l'adorer borne que mechant.

 Peut-

arded, happened to prove fortunate in the Event, it is to the ſteady, and indeed giant Strides of a *Galileo* a *Huygens* and a *Newton*, that we are actually indebted for the having (though ſcarcely above a Century) emerged from almoſt total Ignorance, on that intereſting Subject.—Far then, from reſtricting Providence by arrogant Concluſions from a *ſuppoſed Vacuum*, it evidently appears by the falling of the Feather and Guinea, in the compleateſt *Vacuum* which human Wit can deviſe, that Motion is in no Degree impeded by the Intervention of Light.—That the Spirits of Light and Attraction may be porous, is highly probable, and as *they* can both, evidently occupy the Pores or Interſtices of Air, ſo may *their* Pores poſſibly be occupied by ſome ſtill more ſubtile Spirit, which may yet leave Room for others unknown to us: And the whole be ultimately pervaded and compleatly filled by the eternal Eſſence of the DEITY when ever he but wills to have it ſo; in Deſpight of all *vacuitous* Syſtems, or of the Conculſions of Mr. *Voltaire*.

That the Freedom of all Motion is proportioned to the Medium which is the Scene of it, no reaſoning Man will diſpute; the Progreſs of an Iron Ball propelled by Exploſion from a Cannon, though it be ſoon impeded by any Body of Water it may be directed to, yet is its Paſſage through the thinner Medium of Air on the Earth's Surface, ſufficiently known to every One; on the Top of Etna, it would be probably much encreaſed, and ſtill more ſo at the Elevation which our Balloons have already attained.

Upon

Peut-etre dans la vaſte machine de la nature, le bien l'a-t-il emporte neceſſairement ſur le mal, & l'Eternel artiſan a ete force dans ſes moyens en faiſant encor (malgre tant de maux) ce qu'il y avait de mieux.

Peut-

Upon the ſame Principle, *that* Medium in which the Planets move (though ſo far from being a perfect *Vacuum* that it is manifeſtly filled with the Spirit of Light and of Attraction) is yet ſuppoſed by *Newton* to be of ſufficient Tenuity for every Purpoſe of their deſtined Courſe; although I readily grant the latter Spirit is but the *Mainſpring*, by which GOD actuates the whole aſtoniſhing Machinery:—Little of it do we know as yet, too little indeed, to juſtify us in any Limitation of his Powers; Who can but deride the haſty Notion of a *Vacuum*? From which even the DEITY ſhould be excluded! When he reflects that to either Light, Heat, Attraction, or the Electrical Fluid, which are but Spirits of his Creation, nay to three of them at once, every Subſtance whatever, is at all Times permeable.

Though the *Abhorrence of a Vacuum* be an exploded and perhaps inaccurate Mode of Speech, it appears clearly to me, from the Poroſity of every known Subſtance, and from the extreme Tenuity and Elaſticity of Light, Heat, Attraction, and the Electric Fluid, (which though the moſt rarified Spirits we are acquainted with, are perhaps, far from being actually the moſt ſo in Exiſtence,) it appears I ſay, that a *Vacuum* can no how *naturally* take Place in any Part reclaimed by the DEITY from the Immencity of Space, and once furniſhed by him with organized Elements. For, though between this Globe and its Sattellite there is probably one critical Spot where *Gravitation*, to either, may be ſo equal, as to be *betwixt them*, totally ſuſpended, yet, reſpecting the *great central Planet*, its Current would remain

Peut-être la matière a eté rebelle a l'intelligence qui en diſpoſait les reſſors.

Qui ſait enfin ſi le mal qui regne depuis tant de ſiecles ne produira pas un grand bien dans des tems encor plus longs ?

Helas ! Faibles & malheureux humains, vous portez le memes chaînes que moi ; vos maux ſont reels ; & je ne vous conſole que par des peut-etre.

I will now proceed to differ from Mr. *Voltaire* in his repeated Objections to *De Maillet*'s

main free as ever, not to mention Light and Heat, whoſe Paſſage none but he who made them could in any Inſtance obſtruct. Annihilate theſe *Spirits* and I have done, but while they have Exiſtence, while they continue ſuch irriſiſtible and wonderous Agents ! to denie them Materiality, is, I think, little better than to diſpute the Reality of thoſe Senſes on which their Influence and Operation are in Effect ſo palpable.

That what we now know of Phyſics is, comparatively Nothing to what we ſhall in a few Centuries diſcover, I am fully perſuaded : but, that whatever Progreſs may be hereafter made, in this truely boundleſs Purſuit, far from contracting our Ideas of the DIVINITY, cannot but tend to their Enlargement, and to the clear Confirmation of his OMNIPOTENCE, I not only moſt ſincerely think ; but, that our inherent Propenſity, and the Adaption of our Intellects to ſuch Enquiries, has, in many Inſtances of the Phœnomena preſented to them, pointedly that End in View ; as, perhaps the only true, although eventual Antidote againſt that Proſtitution and Depravity which the human Paſſions muſt have been *in general* obnoxious to, during the improvident and unconciliating Reign of Ignorance.

Argu-

Arguments in Support of an univerſal Flood: though, it would be uncandid not to add that, as a zealous Aſſerter of Divine Providence, he is, probably, right in his Suppoſition reſpecting thoſe extenſive Ridges of Mountain which, in many Parts of the Continent, traverſe Hundreds of Leagues. Inſtead of being, as *Maillet* aſſerts, the mere Depoſitions of teſtacious Fragments, accumulated in, perhaps, a thouſand Centuries to ſuch amazing Heights. They are, ſays *Voltaire*, the manifeſtly providential Contrivance of the eternal Architect, co-eval with the great Fabric of the World, and evidently meant as Ribs and Braces to the enormous *Shell*, *I ſay*, that forms the material Parts of it; and, ſurely, Nothing can more corroborate *my* Idea of the Earth's *Vacuity*. Nor, were it ſolid to its Centre, would theſe Ridges be, *as Braces*, neceſſary. Though their Importance, as Reſervoirs for Snow and Rain, from which, freſh Waters after their Exhalation from the Sea are, by the Mediation of Rivers gradually diſperſed throughout the habitable Diſtricts of the Continent, is ſo clearly manifeſt, that Nothing can more atteſt divine Contrivance. For, indeed, without theſe

health-

health-imparting Ridges, down whoſe furrowed Baſes the Rapidity of the deſcending Torrent has both excavated the River's Bed, and furniſhed it with never-failing Supplies of depurated and ſalutary Waters; one unvaried Level muſt *(in true Conſiſtency)* have left no Chaſm for the Ocean; and would, at any Rate, have cauſed ſuch univerſally ſtagnant and corrupt Swamps, as muſt have, perhaps, totally precluded the Subſiſtence of every terreſtrial Inhabitant.

That moſt of the *detached* Mountains, are the Production of Volcani, is as demonſtrable a Fact, as it is, likewiſe, the Opinion of *Maillet*. But, when Mr. *Voltaire* diſputes the marine Origin of many Foſſils deſcribed as ſuch by *Maillet*, he is certainly in the wrong. I will ſet down only two Inſtances which are too notorious and too *voluminous* to be diſputed. One of them is at Bath; where, any Man, walking but an Hour in its *Environs*, will neceſſary trample on Specimens of the *Cornu Ammonis*, of at leaſt One Hundred Pound Weight. The other is in the Plains of Agrigentum in Sicily, on whoſe Surface I have myſelf obſerved numerous Specimens of the *Clamp Shell*,

Shell, a Pair of which would, to ſpeak much within Compaſs, weigh Three Hundred Pounds. Nor do I believe that Fiſh to be, at preſent, a Native of thoſe Seas.

The Exiſtence of thoſe mountainous Ridges, *likewiſe*, in the Ocean, is a corroborating Proof that *this Species* were not Volcani; and further, that, they were meant as Strengtheners to the prodigious Fabric, for, ſuppoſe the Ocean dry, the World could be no longer habitable, and, though theſe be not *entirely* formed by teſtacious Depoſitions, yet I cannot with Mr. *Voltaire*, *ſcout* or, even diſpute the Opinion of a Deluge, though I would preſume it to have been co-eval with the World's Foundation.

How Moſes (who ſeems to have been no deep Speculator in phyſical Reſearches) ſhould have been, yet informed of it, when it had eſcaped the Notice of his Predeceſſor or Cotemporary, Sanchoniathon, is not abſolutely to the Purpoſe, nor would I even ground my Opinion, on the far better Authority of Mr. *Bonlanger*'s elaborate Compilation of univerſal ancient Ceremonies relating to the Flood.

The marine Foſſils pointed out to us by *Maillet*, and thoſe we accidentally meet with our-

ourſelves, are very ſufficient Incentives to Enquiry, and the Reſult of that Enquiry is, that, as immenſe Quantities of Moiſture are unremittingly exhaling from the Ocean; although the far greateſt Part of it be again returned, by Rivers which lead to it, yet is no inconſiderable Portion *aſſimilated* by vegetable and animal Accretion. And in the Event, * permanently conſolidated.

That this *fairly phyſical* Cauſe will demonſtrably account for the *Diminution* of the Waters, for the Appearance of thoſe Mountains which they muſt *conſequently have once covered*, and for the marine Foſſils ſo often found near their Surface; no Man of Candor and Reflection will diſpute. Particularly when he adds to this, the prodigious Quantities of oceanic Water, annually aſſimilated and conſolidated in

* That Subſtance and Spirit are mutually convertible has been already proved: and that the Waters might by Conſequence be reproduced I readily admit; but with this neceſſary Caution, that, a Power or natural Proceſs which ſhould be conſtantly productive of this Effect, would have but too ſtrongly militated againſt that Degree of Permanency *generally indiſpenſible* in the *matereal* Claſſes of phyſical Exiſtence. The preferable Supply by Comets, was *therefore* PROVIDENTIALLY ordained.

——*How unlike Lucretian Phyſics!*

the

the Bones and Shells of its own natural Inhabitants; not to mention Sea Weed, and whole Iſlands of Coral in the Pacific Ocean. The annual Diminution of the Earth's Moiſture by *Aſſimilation*, *Newton* himſelf admits, together with its eventual Fatality, if not in Time reſtored by the denſe and humid Atmoſphere of ſome ſupervening Comet. The irregular Progreſs of theſe enormous Bodies being, as he preſumes, providentially adapted to ſuch, occaſionally, neceſſary Approaches.

How far the Summits of the higheſt Mountains have, or have not, been flooded, could be aſcertained only by the Examination of them, would their *preſent* Intenſeneſs of Cold permit it.—There might be, perhaps, enough of them originally uncovered, to afford Footing and Subſiſtence for the firſt Parents of thoſe numerous and varied Beings which now people the terreſtrial Globe. That they *emerged*, as ſuppoſed by Maillet, appears by no Argument probable, nor indeed, that the Whole was covered; for, if the *chief Cauſe* of the Flood's Reduction, be aſcribed, as in our Days, to the Aſſimilation of *terreſtrial* Animals and Vegetables; had the Whole been covered, this Means

of

of Reduction could not have exiſted. And though, whatever be conſolidated in the Ocean, muſt, much, encreaſe its immenſe Ridges and its Bed, yet would but *one Half* of the conſolidated Waters in *this Caſe*, annually lower the Flood, that being nearly the Proportion of the ſpecific Gravity between Shells and Water.

On the above Principle, which, I think, cannot be erroneous, it would be no difficult Undertaking for a phyſical and calculating Genius, or for the joint Labours of both, to aſcertain, with ſome Preciſion, the annual Diminution of the Sea. And, by neceſſary Conſequences, how many thouſand Years may have elapſed ſince the Waters were at any given Height, or how long they might ſtill ſuffice to all the Purpoſes of their Ordainment.—That they are every Century ſome-what ſalter, admits of little Doubt. And, for the Inhabitants of the Earth, there can be no Need of ſuppoſing them to have *emerged*, even had the Whole been flooded. Unleſs we doubt the Power of the Creator, or that, a Continuation of the ſame Motives which had occaſioned his peopling the Ocean, would ſtill engage him to furniſh the *now* uncovered Parts of it, with Inhabitants

bitants adapted to the Element they were to breath.

Ages, however *(if all was covered)* muſt have elapſed before that Moſs, which was the firſt vegetable Production of the emerged Rocks, would be, with their Surfaces powdered, and macerated with the accidental Wrecks and Fragments of aquatic Animals and of decayed Sea-Weed; and could have produced *Earth* ſufficient for the Reception of *terreſtrial* Vegetables: Whoſe Growth too, muſt have long preceded the Creation of thoſe *Land* Animals they were intended to nouriſh. For though *(conformably to phyſical Neceſſity*, that is, the apparent Ordinance of God) the internal Conſtruction, with the *entire* though unfiniſhed Fabric of thoſe ſtupendous Orbs conſtituting the planetary Syſtem, muſt have been all, *in the ſame Inſtant* formed, arranged, and actuated by one wondrouſly comprehenſive Exertion of OMNIPOTENCE! And that too, at the preciſe Diſtances from their reſplendent Centre which their reſpective Magnitudes and gravitating Powers required. Yet might their ſuperficial Detail (as indeed, our own Globe manifeſts) be afterwards ſubmitted

to

to the progreſſive, although infallible, Effects of Time. And to the merely conſequential Developement of divinely implanted Properties.

That the human Diviſions of the newly created Colonies, in whatever various Climates of the emerging World, the Deity had planted them, exiſted many Centuries, in a perfectly ſavage State, the Report of Travellers (if Analogy may be in this Inſtance truſted) moſt amply teſtifies. And, as we have no very authentic Documents of human Exiſtence, *even in the Eaſt* extending to a remoter Period than *ſix thouſand Years*; it ſeems but fairly preſumable, that, if even articulate Speech had yet made any Progreſs, neither Society, nor Arts, though of mere Convenience could have *till then* been much advanced.

The next Object of my Diſſention from Mr. *Voltaire* is, that metaphyſical one which in ſome Degree pervades almoſt every Article that he has written on. Nor indeed, can any Conſideration be more intereſting than that Faculty by which alone we live, and think and act: And in the Hope of whoſe future Exiſtence, are founded our moſt pleaſing Proſpects.

That I may both avoid the Tranſcription of ſo much French, and deliver the ſtrict Senſe of Part of the ſixteenth and the entire ſeventeenth Section of *Memmius*'s *Treatice* in rather fewer Words than are employed by Mr. *Voltaire*; I have preferred tranſlating of it. "Animals, he ſays, have only *Faculties*, nor have *we* ought elſe: it would be *comique* indeed! that when a Fly was ſwallowed by a Lizard, or a Man by a Crocodile, either of them had devoured a Soul!—Inſtead, then, of believing the Spirit of this Fly to be a Portion of the Deity, ſhould we not rather ſuppoſe it a ſimple Faculty, given with his Exiſtence in common, to this Inſect, the Monkey, the Elephant, and no Diſparagement to him! even to the human Being.

The meereſt Boor has, by ſome Philoſopher been deemed ſuperior to the moſt ingenious Animal, * I deny it, the Elephant would, in any Market, outſell twenty Fools. But granting the Man really ſuperior, what could be inferred from it? But, that he had received more Talents from the Deity: Nothing elſe!

* Mr. *Voltaire* forgets the Poſſibility of a Fool's becoming Father of a very wiſe and virtuous Man.

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The Divinity, you ſay, may after Death, perpetuate theſe Gifts, he may annex the Faculty of Thought to ſome ſurviving Part of us. Be it ſo, I neither affirm, nor do I denie, for I can neither prove, nor diſprove. But, it is ſurely incumbent on him who does affirm ſo ſtrange a Fact! to prove it clearly. And, as no Man yet has done ſo, permit *me* ſtill to doubt.

When we are reduced to Cinders, what will it avail us? that one Atom of thoſe Cinders animates ſome Creature with Faculties like mine. This new Perſonage will be no more *me* than the Melon or the Cabbage which may have vegetated upon my Grave.—To be unequivocally immortal, *my* identical Organs, my Memory, and all my Faculties, ſhould be unperiſhable.—Open but the Graves, examine their Contents, and truſt me you will find no Documents to encourage, even, the Shadow of ſuch an Expectation.

To this, which is, at leaſt, plain Speaking, all we need anſwer is, that having already given his Aſſent to Proofs of meer Preſumption, *however ſtrong*, concerning God's Exiſtence, He becomes in *abſolute Conſiſtency* bound to ac-

cept Preſumption of equal Force, in Proof of any Axiom, however difficult of phyſical Demonſtration, which is an inevitable Conſequence of that God's Equity, the foremoſt, as he himſelf aſſerts, of his indiſputable Attributes. And for the actual Identity of the ſurviving Soul's Exiſtence, it would ſurely be ſufficiently aſcertained to each Individual, by the Continuation of an unimpaired Conſciouſneſs of the reſpective Paſſions which had ſeverally actuated them in their corporeal State, and by a clear Retention of the Memory of paſt Events.—The Certitude of its Identity is on the ſame Principle retained, in the Minds of *dreamleſs* Sleepers, notwithſtanding that temporary Suſpenſion of its Faculties: Nay even the Drowned *know themſelves* when revived by the humane Science of a HAWES.

Mr. *Voltaire* is again, clearly in an Error, when he repeatedly aſſerts (as he ſays) after Mr. *Locke* that Free-will is conſtituted in the actual Power of *doing* all we wiſh. Had this been given as the Definition of bodily Freedom, who could have diſputed it? Free-will on the contrary, manifeſtly conſiſts in the unconſtrained Deciſion or Election of ſuch *poſſibly attainable*

tainable Alternatives as are preſented to us. That we may be influenced in our Election by external Occurrences, by the *Habits* of our own Temper, or by our *occaſional* Diſpoſitions, is no real Impeachment of the Freedom of that Election: Thoſe Qualities of the Mind being ſo dependent on our Cultivation of it, that, among twenty Men, ſcarcely two will be alike affected by the ſame Accident. The Act of Free-will, as *metaphyſically conſidered*, is *therefore*, but a Deciſion or Election *uninfluenced by ſupernatural Agency*. Whether exerted on that Will, or on the *immediate* Accidents by which it was determined.

If it were otherwiſe, we could be no how anſwerable for Actions, *then*, not our own.—All human Merit or Delinquency would be virtually precluded and every moral Diſtinction at an End. Theſe Concluſions are, I think, inevitable, nor will any Man of Candor appeal from them. Though, when the late Dr. *Johnſon* adopted Free-will, as the *Origin of Evil*, he was but little ſenſible of the very extenſive Inferences it led to, he would elſe, never have ſo unwarily admitted it.

How is it conceivable that ſo truely diſcerning a Man as Mr. *Voltaire*, ſhould have ſaid in

the very next Volume, "*Faire tout ce qu'on peut, c'eſt exercer ſa liberté plainement.* DIEU *a fait tout ce qu'un* DIEU *pouvait faire.*" Thus lamely do they exculpate the Deity! from ill Intentions in the Permiſſion of Evil.

Hobbs (Mr. *Voltaire* ſays in his thirty-ſixth Volume) had almoſt demonſtrated to him that Compaſſion was a Virtue of mere Convention, but having at Length found his Error; in the Face of Mr. Locke's Refutation of innate Ideas! (which he yet much approves) he proceeds in declaring it to be mere Inſtinct.—Theſe are his Words. "*Le Sentiment de la Virtu a étè mis par la Nature dans le cœur de l'homme, come une antidote contre les poiſons dont il devaite être dévoré.*"—I have been as much an Advocate for Conſcience as any Man, but I make no Doubt that, however prevalent it may be, when unaſſailed by intereſted Motives, yet muſt Compaſſion, and every other Virtue, (to have a *generally* beneficial Effect,) be, by aſſiduous Cultivation, rendered *habitual:* And that it is in Fact *but* the Reſult of Reaſon: For, the human Race having by *Experience* found, that Virtue (that is ſuch *habitual Inclinations* as might ſuffice to counter-act many ſelf-intereſted Views, which had been elſe fatal to Society)

Society) would be a beneficial Check; wiſely inſtituted the rigorous and, early Inculcation of it; as, perhaps, the very firſt Bond of their ſocial Engagement. And indeed, without it, how could Society have ſubſiſted?—So far is it from being a *natural* Antidote againſt the Evils with which Providence is ſo raſhly charged! that, when I reflect on our inherent and univerſal Fondneſs of Executions and other atrocious Sights, together with the horrid Maſſacres that have ſo often diſgraced Humanity, when I find that Pity has, among Savage Nations, Nothing but a barely ſocial and polilitical Relation: That the Torments of a brave and irreproachable Enemy, are even exhibited among them as a public Feſtival: And that the inſtinctive Tribes, know not Compaſſion. Tho' I once, myſelf, in ſome Degree admitted its *natural* Influence, I cannot, on more cloſe Reflection, but doubt of its Exiſtence, excepting as the mere Reſult of Reaſon, and of ſocial Habit, contracted, and that imperfectly, by very early Cultivation.—Prejudice and involuntary Affection are but too often miſtaken for it: Parental Fondneſs is manifeſtly innate at firſt, and afterwards habitual. Theſe how-

ever and all other Virtues, far from being leſs actual or leſs meritorious, by being conventional and acquired; are for that very Reaſon, obviouſly entitled to even enhanſed Eſtimation. The potent Habits of Social Intercourſe are ſuch, that from the very Moment our implanted *Aptitudes* to Speech were actually developed, the *Sophiſtication* of *mere Nature* muſt in ſome Degree have, ſhortly, followed. Shakeſpear, who often is my Oracle, who was very little known to Meſſrs. *Hume or Voltaire*, and I fear imperfectly even to *Johnſon*, who not only *ſpeaks Nature's Language*, but, to uſe his own Expreſſion SHEWS *her Thoughts*, and indeed unveils their inmoſt Motives; who may be fairly ſaid to have *croſs-examined* her, and traced her genuine Feelings through every Diſguiſe; juſtly makes the undeceived Lear, declare her to be *ſophiſticated* in all but *poor Mad Tom, then* intended to preſent the trueſt Copy of her original Vagaries that any Man who had not viſited the mute Savages of the *Lunar Mountains* could poſſible obtain.

For the following Hint, I moſt thankfully acknowledge myſelf indebted to Mr. *Voltaire's* Letters of *Memmius to Cicero*, which, of all his philoſophical Writings (if they be his) appear

to

to me intended as his *Profeſſion de Foi*. I cannot, however, reflect without Aſtoniſhment, that a Genius ſo truely great and good, ſhould have ſo often ſtopped or turned aſide, when on the very Verge of the moſt pleaſing and conſolatory Inferences.

That *our* Ideas have no Means of Entrance into the Mind, but through the Mediation of the five Senſes, I readily admit, but, when the Lodgement is once made, though we be afterwards deprived of thoſe Senſes, yet, ſays Mr. *Voltaire*, will the combined Imagery, to which they had ſo liberally adminiſtered, be in no Degree obliterated by their Abſence.—The vigorous, elegant, and enlightened Minds of *Homer* and of *Milton*, afford two every unequivocal, although *partial* Inſtances of this ingenious Obſervation.

How far Exemption from univerſal Palſy, could be compatible with total Loſs of Feeling, I will not take upon me to decide; but, that the reaſoning Intellect can actually, and even vigorouſly exiſt, under a Privation of the other four Senſes, the Superadvention of a ſevere Cold to any Man already deaf and blind, would but too eaſily evince.

In

In the Commentary on *Mallebranche*, it is ſaid by *Abbé Tilladet*, and often repeated by Mr. *Voltaire*—"The Animal being endued with five Senſes for his Information, would God? contrary to all Preciſion or Economy, ſuperfluouſly fix a *little Being* in his Brain, which, although *immaterial*, is yet! ſuppoſed to be affected by the Report of theſe Senſes, to decide in Conſequence, and then, actuate the Limbs: Is this taking the neareſt Road?"

Yes, the very Argument with which you have yourſelf furniſhed me, proves ſufficiently that, when, through the Mediation of the five Senſes, my Ideas are once admitted, combined, and arranged; the accidental Privation of thoſe Senſes, (however juſtly to be regretted) is yet, no longer fatal to Reflection:—That this *little Being* (incongruous as you may ſuppoſe it) aſſerts, *then*, a very eſſential Department in the human Frame. And, that it is enabled by this very Deſertion of the Senſes, clearly to demonſtrate, what, without it, could be but inferred, viz. That the *Reception and Combination* of that varied Intelligence communicated by the Senſes, could not, conſiſtently with the acknowledged Providence of God, be committed

mitted to the very *precarious Exiſtence* of either of theſe Senſes in particular; and that the Imagery reſulting, from that Intelligence, is, in their Abſence, evidently retained by its real Receiver, this diſputed LITTLE BEING, in his *now* unequivocal Character of intellectual Preſident.

While we perſiſt, abſurdly to aſcribe *perceptive* Powers, or indeed, whatever poſſible Mode of Exiſtence, to *Immateriality!* the Mazes of metaphyſical Error, will obviouſly continue inextricable. Spirit is demonſtrably Matter ſubtilized, not *annihilated!* for, it is even again reducible to Matter.—Annex but juſt Ideas to it, and, having SOMETHING *then* to reaſon on, this Argument, though metaphyſical, may be fairly put to Iſſue.

It is ſaid by Doctor Johnſon, in his Raſſelas, that "an ideal Form is no leſs *real*, than ma-
"terial Bulk, yet, has an ideal Form no Ex-
"tention: it is no leſs certain that when you
"think of a Pyramid, your Mind poſſeſſes the
"Idea of a Pyramid, than that the Pyramid
"itſelf is ſtanding: yet does not that Idea
"occupy more Space in your Mind, than the
"Idea of a Grain of Corn."—The above Reaſoning,

ſoning, which he gives as Proof of the Soul's *Immateriality*, is, I confeſs, at firſt Sight, ſpecious: but, on Examination, I find that it in no Degree invalidates the Doctrine of that highly ſubtilized *Materiality* which I contend for.—IDEAS are the unſubſtantial Productions, or rather, *Acts of the Mind*, not the Spirit or Mind itſelf, and that Act, which at once renders them perceptible to the Senſes, and diſtinctly retainable, that is, *virtually* ſo, is probably, an *appropriate* Change of Form, which the Mind is inſtantaneouſly ſuſceptible of, on the Suggeſtion of any of the five Senſes, or by its own Will, whenever diſpoſed to combine or contemplate ſuch Ideas as have been, at any Period of its Exiſtence, communicated, through the Medium of thoſe Senſes: and by occaſional Recurrence to theſe *reſpectively appropriate Forms*, which are all Times reſumable, to thoſe who have ſtrong Memories, RECOLLECTION may be equally accounted for. The *Generation* and Effect of SOUND is a clear and manifeſt Illuſtration of this Hypotheſis, Sound is, in itſelf no *recently material* Production, but a meer *Change of Form* in that Part of the Atmoſphere which is between the Hearer, and the

the Object acting by modified *Vibration* on that Medium: the *varied* Percuſſion which produces this *Change of Form* is likewiſe, in the moſt ſcrupulous Analogy, from its accurate Modification, articulately *appropriate* to the Impreſſion made by it upon the auditory Nerves.

The pervaſive Powers of the *electric and magnetic Fluids* will equally illuſtrate both the poſſible Lodgement, and the Activity of the intellectual Spirit; for, if the hardeſt Materials are, in every Direction, inſtantaneouſly pervaded and *endowed with a ſtrongly active Power* by theſe merely inanimate Spirits, how much more eaſily muſt the ſoft, warm, and organized Brain be ſo, by *that* which is the very Eſſenſe of Life, and is expreſsly deſtined and adapted by the DEITY to this very Place and Purpoſe.

Nor need we be in the leaſt ſurprized at the inſtantaneous Flexibility of the intellectual Spirit, in this Inſtance of IDEAS, if we but reflect on that aſtoniſhing Organ, which tho' merely material and *apparently* ſimple in its Figure, is yet enabled by its infinitely varied Inflections, Contractions, Dilatations, and *Change of Form*, ſo accurately and immediately to utter and impreſs the Air with the Report

of

of thoſe very Ideas, in order to their Conveyance to the attentive Ear, in whatever Language or Variety the moſt cultivated Mind is Maſter of, and with a Facility and Quickneſs, almoſt, equal to the Thought itſelf.

The *human Mind* being devoid of INSTINCT or *innate Sagacity*, the Power of *Recurrence*, above alluded to, was an indiſpenſible Requiſite to the *Attainment of rational Knowledge*: for, without it, the Combination and Compariſon of Ideas had been impoſſible, and all *Inference* impracticable. And, that theſe are *real Acts* of the Mind or Spirit, and unequivocally fatiguing to the Brain, which is the *Sceen* of this Action, every Man of Candor who has been in Habits of intricate and intenſe mental Combination, particularly, where quick Recollection and Reference were neceſſary, cannot but acknowledge, when he but reflects upon the Ferment and poſitive Heat that was thus communicated to the whole Head. I have often ſeen Philidor the celebrated Cheſs Player, at the Concluſion of two or three Games, plaid *at once* by meer Recollection in a Corner of the Room without ſeeing the Board: and as often heard him declare, the almoſt inſupportable Heat he felt on theſe

theſe Occaſions in his Brain, and have, indeed, witneſſed its manifeſtly outward Appearance, which he was invariably reduced to relieve by a Walk into the freſh Air. I was likewiſe informed by Haſſe, the famous Saxon Muſic Maſter, that when engaged in any intricate Compoſition, it was his Practice to have his Head conſtantly kept cool by the repeated Application of wet Towels: ſo inſupportable, elſe, was the Heat occaſioned by theſe mental Exertions.

There is manifeſtly, then, no Penury of *inferential* Inſtruction, and if, inſtead of idly mendicating and blaſphemiouſly fabricating *Revelations*, we would with Induſtry and Diſprejudice, ſeek for Information: The DEITY has, in his benign Works, (as we may again perceive in this edifying Inſtance,) amply furniſhed us with every Means of *neceſſary* Knowledge.

That the Tenuity of Spirit, is the very Reverſe of any Impeachment of its Active Powers, even palpable Experiment evinces: And I need ſcarcely add that, *that which acts, is acted on*.—The next Queſtion is, I admit, only ſolvable by Inference; is Spirit ſuſceptible of intellectual Organiſm? To this I ſay; do

we

we acknowledge a Divinity? If ſo, the *Spirituality* of his Eſſence will be, I truſt, no more diſputed, than his Exiſtence.

That the actual Nature of the divine Eſſence can be in any clear Degree conceivable to *created* Intellect, however freed from all corporeal Impediment, is I think little probable. The vaſt Diſparity would ſtill remain, it would be ſtill *finite* to INFINITE. But, that it *is* ſpiritual, however it be conſtituted, and, that all Nature yields to its coercive Powers, is alone ample Anſwer to our Problem.

That a totally imperceptible and yet highly active Spirit may *unblendedly* pervade the human Frame, has been already proved:—That ſuch a one is abſolutely neceſſary to Thought, the occaſional Deſertion of the corporeal Senſes clearly ſhews:—That one, analogous (in its Imperceptibility) to the electric Spirit, may be ſuſceptible of intellectual Organiſm, is, from the acknowledged Spirituality of God, ſufficiently apparent: And, as, we are juſtified by many fair, and pleaſing Inferences in the *Belief* of a *preſiding human Spirit*; why may not the above Chain of, *I think* juſt Concluſions be recognized as *Demonſtration* of its Exiſtence.

Though

Though the Proceſſes of Chemiſtry afford many ſurpriſing Inſtances of the Convertibility of Matter, yet, when we compare thoſe Changes effected by the Furnace, with the amazing Ones of vegetable and animal *Aſſimilation*; the Impotence of human Art is, perhaps, in no other ſpeculative Light ſo glaring— When we conſider that the vegetative *Germe* is ſcarcely one hundredth Part of each individual Seed: And, when we reflect that the *aſſimilative Powers* of theſe mere Atoms! can, in their reſpective Claſſes, increaſe or convert a *colourleſs and taſteleſs Liquid which is the ſole Pabulum of All,* into the Magnitude of the Oak and the Solidity of the Ebony, paint it with every Tint which is refracted through the Priſm, and furniſh it with every Taſte or Odor that can gratify Appetite or Senſuality: When we again find *theſe*, after ſuch aſtoniſhing Tranſmutations, in *their Turn* re-aſſimilated by the equally diminutive *Germe* of Animals, in all their Changes and Gradations, 'till they at length reach Rationality. When we contemplate ſuch endleſs Wonders, knowing *their Baſis to be but one ſimple lympid Ele-*

ment, * ſhall we not term that which wrought them, a GOD-ASSERTING FACULTY.

This whole Poſtſcript being profeſſedly, but a Rhapſody, whether phyſical or metaphyſical I have the leſs ſcrupled to indulge myſelf in the latter Parts of it, as they may, (however ſummary) by habituating our Minds and fixing our Attention to ſuch aſtoniſhing though real and viſible Wonders, more effectually familiarize them to a Comprehention of that *reaſoning Spirit* rejected by Mr. *Voltaire:* whoſe Repugnance to all Admiſſion of it, muſt have been principally cauſed by his aſcribing *Immateriality* to every Idea of Spirit, by not reflecting on the very *active Powers* that even Experiment manifeſts in various Spirits, though of *matereal* and inſtantaneous Production, and, on the obvious Poſſibility of Spirit being intellectually organizable by the Deity.

That the *little Being* which theſe Gentlemen have ſo jocularly ſeated in the Brain, has the

* The endleſs Diverſity of Colour, reſulting from *ſuch* an Origin, *alone*, affords ample Proof, that it is as entirely dependent on the *Configuration*, of the Subſtance, from which Light is reflected, as its Decompoſition is owing to that, thro' which it may be refracted.

ſame

ſame Reſidence actually allotted to him by the SUPREEM BEING: is, I think, little to be doubted; for, Nothing is more demonſtrable than that the Nerves, which are the acknowledged Conduits of every Senſe, are (however infinitely ramified throughout the whole corporeal Frame) evidently but Continuations of the *medullary Subſtance*, or whiter Parts of the *Cerebrum* and *Cerebellum:* Which, having, beſides, no Department in the animal Economy excepting the Supply of nervous Fluids, and, perhaps, reſtorative Ones *during Sleep*, are but the more aptly fitted for the Seat of Thought: To which every Senſe is, from every Extremity, almoſt every Inſtant flying with Intelligence.

I moſt cordially aſſent to Mr. *Voltaire*'s Suppoſition that a preſiding Spirit (admitting its Exiſtence) may be equally the Lot of every Animal whatever: Nay more, that *their* Spirit is, by the divine Gift of Inſtinct or innate Sagacity, ſo far ſuperior, in that it is *unerringly* directed to its Deſtination; whilſt ours which are manifeſtly indebted to the five Senſes for their Ideas, and to Experience for their Conduct, are, by neceſſary Conſequence, more ſubjected to Error. I will go yet further with

Mr. *Voltaire*, I will admit this Spirit to have been an actually conſtituent Part of that very *Germe*, that Atom we have ariſen from;—That they have not only *aſſimilated* and grown up together, but, that they are *in general* alike ſubjected to one common Diſſolution.

Does this, however, argue againſt GOD's Power of ultimately ſeparating the ſpiritual Part of ſuch, as in the *human Species*, may have merited this *premiative* Diſtinction; in the *human Race*, I ſay, who, by the excluſive Impartment of *Rationality and Free-will*, are hazardouſly qualified to MERIT or to ERR: Do the above Conceſſions, in any Sort prevent the DEITY's *continuing its Exiſtence*, in an unembarraſſed and happier future State. Surely no.

That a *ſurviving* human Spirit *once furniſhed with Ideas*, may, independent of corporeal Senſations, be ſuſceptible of great Enjoyment; the Dreams of every temperate and healthy Perſon (in all but one ſenſual Inſtance) not only demonſtrate, but, further, that, although deluſive, they are as unequivocal and pleaſing as the Reality:—And, though theſe mental Impreſſions ſhould be varied into the moſt extenſive Imagery that Fancy the moſt

poet-

poetical could ſuggeſt; yet are they ſo totally independent of all foreign Agency whatever, that, an uninterrupted Perpetuation of this Faculty, might, by the DEITY, be extended to Spirit, WERE IT EVEN WITH ITS ASHES ENCLOSED IN ITS URN.—That this conveys, *therefore*, to the plaineſt Underſtanding, one eaſily conceivable Mode of future *Exiſtence* and *Enjoyment*, is alone a Reflection by no Means unpleaſing: Yet does it naturally ſuggeſt another far more intereſting.—That, ſince the human Mind (while its corporeal Faculties were ſuſpended and aſleep) was manifeſtly unable to combine, or to reflect on any Ideas, but what had entered by the Senſes, or had been familiarized by Habit and Experience; were the *ſurviving Spirit*, to be ſubjected to ſome analogous Reſtriction, (which would be but, adapting its future Enjoyments, to its preſent Notions of Happineſs;) and, might we be permitted, by a continued Parity of Reaſoning, to extend this equitable Inference, in a Degree proportioned to the generous Motives and unreſtrained Efforts of Imaginations enlarged by Science and by Virtue, what flattering Proſpects and what truely cordial

dial Conſolation would not this Idea encourage in every Votary to theſe *really beneficial Purſuits:* Far from the deluſive Enjoyments above alluded to, their glorious * Lucubrations, no longer fruitleſs Labours! would be, *then*, in every Senſe *condignly* rewarded; and they might juſtly hope for even more exalted Powers of purſuing, in the true Regions of Knowledge, thoſe Reſearches they had on Earth delighted in.

What Mortal more deſerving of ſuch a luxurious Deſtination? than that very Author, who though ſo extenſively converſant with the ſtupendous Works of the Divinity, and ſo laborious a Promulgator of univerſally beneficial Doctrines, could yet (however effectually he has ſecured his earthly Reputation from it) indulge the gloomy one of ANNIHILATION. Peace be, however, to *Voltaire*'s illuſtrious Aſhes—his inveſtigating Spirit is by this Time, pleaſingly undeceived; and is perhaps *actually*

* If it be granted (as I think it muſt) that the Identity of a *ſurviving Spirit*, conſiſts in the Recollection of paſt Ideas and Events, Nothing can be more manifeſt, than the abundant Sources of Pleaſure ſtored up by the unprejudiced Cultivators of Science, during a virtuous and well ſpent Life.

traver-

traverſing the Realms of Science, with the congenial Spirits of thoſe *Trajan's*, *Antonine's*, *Julian's*, *Locke's* and *Newton's*, which were here, the virtuous Objects of his almoſt idolatrous Celebration.

Per quos, nunquam jurare pudebit.

FINIS.

A

REVISION

OF THE

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

PHYSICAL ENQUIRY,

&c. &c.

Containing Summary Obſervations founded upon a Suppoſition that the Phænomena commonly aſcribed to a temporary Deluge, and probably giving Riſe to the Tradition of that Event, were, on the Contrary, occaſioned by the *ſudden* Subſidency of the Waters with which our Globe was, for the moſt providential Purpoſes, univerſally covered, long before the Creation of the human Race.

WITH SOME

CONJECTURES

Concerning the Means by which that Subſidency was effected.

A

REVISION

OF THE

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

PHYSICAL ENQUIRY,

&c. &c.

TWO Years being elapſed ſince the printing of my Poſtcript to the Phyſical Enquiry, and having often doubted, during that Time, if the Diminution of the Waters, with which the far greateſt Part of our Globe had been, for, perhaps, thouſands of Centuries, manifeſtly covered, was effected *ſolely*, by that gradual, animal, and vegetable Aſſimilation of them, which I have aſſigned as its Cauſe; I think it now right to ſet down my Reaſons for admitting a Probability that, when the Moment was arrived, at which the Surface of our Globe, had received, by the marine Depoſitions of the Ocean that ſurrounded it, ſuch Portion of its indiſpenſible Coating, as was ſufficient to the Purpoſes of fluvial Excavation and eventual Vegetation: it might well appear expedient to the DEITY to ſink and limit the whole Vo-

lume of the remaining Waters, into that Moiety of their Bed, which was the deepeſt or neareſt the Earth's Centre, by a more compendious Proceſs; and thus remove the Covering from that emerging Scene, on which the rational Diviſions of his animal Creation were intended, from that intereſting Period, to act their Parts.

The different Proceſſes hitherto aſſigned for the Accompliſhment of this Event, by the numberleſs Founders of Hypotheſes, being all evidently defective, I was, on that Account, more eaſily determined to adopt the ſlow, but evidently infallible, one above alluded to; infallible, I with full Confidence aſſert, had its Operation on that Diſtrict of the Earth's Surface, been, by the DEITY, deemed longer requiſite.

That I may not be thought haſty, or cenſorious upon the various Syſtems that have been written on this Subject, I cannot but refer the Reader to Mr. De Luc's *Hiſtory of the World*; in the very firſt Volume of which, he will find the Deficiency of even the moſt celebrated of them, ſufficiently demonſtrated; and I will embrace this Opportunity to acknowledge, that

that it is to his laborious and accurate Inveſtigation, and unequivocal Eſtabliſhment of the phyſical Phænomena relating to this Problem, that, independent of the Aſſiſtance they have furniſhed me with, towards a more attentive Examination of it, I am entirely indebted for the Confirmation of an Hypotheſis of my own, conceived and adopted for its Solution, while in the very Act of reading his Refutation of many others. I have ſaid, *Confirmation*, for, on the very firſt Peruſal of a ſubſequent Paſſage in his *mineralogical* Obſervations, I was ſo ſtruck with Something, almoſt approaching to Demonſtration of the new Hypotheſis (which, with my Pencil I had, a few Pages before, committed to the Margin of a Copy of Mr. De Luc's Work, borrowed from my enlightened Friend the Count de Bruhl) that I could no longer entertain a Doubt of its being the genuine Solution of the Problem we were examining; although, I candidly confeſs, I had till then, no Proſpect of any *phyſical Indications* in its Support, but had roundly fixed upon it, as the only plauſible Means of accounting for the *ſudden* Emertion of our Continent, ſhould the Admiſſion of that Idea be

as unavoidably neceſſary, as the ingenious Arguments I had been reading, tended to prove it.

That Mr. De Luc, after ſo much Labour, and ſcrupulous Examination, ſhould have been, by the Influence of early Prejudice, ſo infatuated, as to ſhape his own hypothetical Conjectures into a warped Conformity to Hebraical Revelations, is but another Inſtance of the Faſcination, I had almoſt ſaid Inſanity, of bigoted Opinions. He is too liberal not to pardon the Harſhneſs of the Expreſſion :—that he is benevolent, unprejudiced, and diſcerning on every *other Subject*, is too evident in every Page of his elaborate Work, to admit a Moment's Doubt : but, that his own Obſervations, ſhould not have amply ſupplied him with Materials for an Hypotheſis exactly quadrating with the Phænomena above alluded to, can be yet aſcribable only to that Prejudice which, in the firſt Volume of his Work, he ſo providently deprecates, as the invariable Perverter of elſe impartial Judgement.—" Amuſe your-
" ſelf if you will, with the Suggeſtions of a
" lively Fancy ; indulge even the Contempla-
" tion of their imaginary Fitneſs to your own pre-
" dilective

" dilective Syſtem, but, when you would *decide*, " let it be *ſolely* on the ſolid Document of " well-eſtabliſhed Facts."—Such, or to ſuch Effect, is the truly philoſophic Doctrine of Mr. De Luc, and, on every Occaſion where he is not biaſſed by the religious Tenets he was accidentally born to, and brought up in, he appears to have moſt ſcrupuouſly followed it: yet, were even the metaphyſical Points ſo zealouſly defended in his firſt Volume, to be confronted with the Law of Moſes, to whom he has ſo largely ſacrificed; they would, in Return, find there but ſmall Support.—Not one clear Sentence relative to a *Futurity*, in the Whole! And, for the Spirituality of Souls, it would be for any Document we have, concerning it, from Moſes, an abſolutely loſt Hope:—the *Blood*, we are emphatically told by him, the Blood is the Life; we are *therefore* and for that ſole Reaſon, enjoined by him, not to eat the Blood! Such were Moſes's *material Notions* of the Life: worthy indeed of ſuch a Deity as he blaſphemouſly boaſted of having converſed with Face to Face!!! Worthy of One, ſaid by Moſes, to puniſh the Delinquency of

Fathers on their offenceleſs Offſpring, even to ſucceſſive Generations.—*Horreſco Referens!*

Will Mr. De Luc's undoubted Candor not yield to this, or can he be yet ſo prejudiced, as to ſuppoſe the God of Moſes, a God, reduced to ſuch Expedients of future Puniſhment, had yet, revealed to him Ideas of a SPIRITUAL FUTURITY? and if not theſe, which of all Truths were the moſt intereſting: why believe then? that he had, in Terms however curſory and indefinite, deſcribed to him the World's Creation and Deſtruction.

The Books of Moſes are, after all, tranſmitted to us, *at beſt*, from Recollection; Recollection too, *profeſſedly*, but from a Dream! and, if any Judgement may be formed from their generally characteriſtic Mark, no Man could be leſs averſe to, even minute and circumſtantial, I might ſay, filthy Detail, than their ſuppoſed Author, however ſummary that Deſcription which has thus dictated Mr. De Luc's Hypotheſis. All theſe Obſervations, with an endleſs Catalogue of puerile Ceremonies, Cruelties, Repetitions, Contradictions, and Abſurdities, are, I allow, ſo trite, that they are new

to

to no Man; yet, I muſt further add, and that ſincerely,—could I poſſibly believe the Books of Moſes, I ſhould from that Inſtant, like Lord George Gordon, deem it my indiſpenſible Duty to follow his Religion; nor can I conceive how any Man can in Reaſon, reject the Propoſition. Was not Chriſt a Jew? was he not ſo by Birth, in Practice, and by Profeſſion? But I have done; for I had long ſince ſaid upon this Subject more than I think ſufficient for the Conviction of any diſprejudiced Mind.

My Reaſon, then, for admitting that the Deity may have anticipated the *End* of that phyſical Proceſs, which, if continued, muſt, however ſlowly, have ultimately lowered thoſe Waters with which our Globe was covered, is chiefly founded on the manifeſt Extent of thoſe Phænomena, which, *by the Inferences anciently drawn from them*, will perhaps enable us, in ſome Degree, to fix the Period at which the human Race firſt iſſued into Exiſtence.

That many differing Species of it were, perhaps, at once created, in as many different Climes and Countries, is probable from Analogy, and, I think, apparent from phyſical Experience: whether conſidered it its Relation

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to Locality, to vellous Covering, to cuticular Colour, to moſt unequivocal perſonal Diſcriminality, or to the concurring Evidence of often motley Combinations of them all: that each had Aptitudes to Reaſon, and to articulate Speech, which, with their erect Poſition, are, I preſume, their characteriſtic Marks, no Man can doubt.

The Time requiſite to the Development of the two firſt of theſe inherent Faculties, in the Degree at leaſt that they are known to have attained to in the Eaſt *ſix thouſand Years ago*, neceſſarily enforces the Suppoſition of a far remoter Period for Man's Creation; even the firſt *conventional* Recognition of, probably, but few articulate Sounds, by which the Wants and Apprehenſions of the ſmall Circle of their Inventors, could be mutually communicated, with any Certainty of being underſtood, alone involves the *prior* Lapſe of, perhaps, ſeveral Generations. The Increaſe and Improvements of this ſcanty Vocabulary, with the more general Adoption of it by the neighbouring Families, was, perchance, the Period introductory to the firſt Formation of Society, which could no how have ſubſiſted without ſome

Species

Species of Regulation: nor *that* be either aſcertainable or communicable without a Language: but as the Development of Rationality, muſt have neceſſarily accompanied, or rather dictated, this Advancement, and as the natural Deſire of accurately conveying the firſt Dawnings of new Ideas muſt have perpetually furniſhed Motives for the Invention both of appoſite Terms, and of more grammatical Modes, of Speech, ſo, the Ambition of recording theſe Ideas, and of tranſmitting to Poſterity the Actions they had been productive of, eaſily actuated the Imagination of the firſt Contriver of Letters, or at leaſt Characters individually expreſſive of a Word: for of ſuch, I underſtand, the eaſtern Records above alluded to are compoſed.

Among the numerous Nations recently explored, nay, in the extenſive Continent of America, no Glimps of Writing has appeared; yet, muſt we not, in Matters of, perhaps, merely accidental Invention, permit Analogy to be our Guide. But, though we have certainly, no infallible Criterion whereby to rate the Time that had elapſed from the firſt Hour of Man's Creation, to that of the Attainment

of

of this Science, in the Eaſt, we have yet a ſecond Object of Conſideration, which may, perhaps, add ſome Degree of Plauſibility to our Conjectures, and cannot fail of reflecting ſome Light upon the principal Object of our Doubt.

It is grounded on a Compilation, publiſhed by Mr. *Boulanger*, about twenty Years ago, conſiſting of Ceremonies *(almoſt univerſal)* manifeſtly commemorative of a ſuppoſed Deluge.—That theſe Ceremonies, inſtituted by the unphyſical Inhabitants of the newly-emerged Earth, were founded on erroneous *Inferences*, I cannot doubt, but that thoſe Inferences were drawn from the moſt impoſing, and *then*, every where obvious, *Indications* of a preceding Flood, is highly probable, although in Fact, reſulting from the very Reverſe of Inundation.

Nothing can be more evident, than that the *ſudden* Subſidency of the Ocean, muſt have left upon its emerged Bed, numerous and enormous Specimens of its wrecked Inhabitants, Nothing more natural than that the yet unperiſhed Skeletons of them ſhould have ſuggeſted to thoſe newly-created, and as yet, ſcarcely-reaſoning

ſoning People, Ideas of a temporary Flood; as ſoon, at leaſt, as the firſt Developments of Reaſon and Articulation, had enabled them in any Sort to ſpeculate upon theſe Objects, which probably every where ſurrounded them.

Nor is this the only dreadful Idea they gave Riſe to; from the colloſſeal Volume of theſe diſperſed Ruins, operating upon the Contemplation of Minds, but little verſed in the Propriety of anatomical Compariſons, were probably derived thoſe monſtrous Notions tranſmitted to us in their MYTHOLOGY.—Numbers too of the amphibious, and of more hardy marine Animals, ſtill perhaps terribly ſubſiſting in yet undrained Vallies, challenged the Enterprize of the Brave and Powerful; and hence the heroical Achievements of a Theſeus and a Hercules; even the Python and the Hydra might have had ſome Degree of actual Exiſtence.

The tremendous Wonders of the Deep, diſperſed, by this Event, over the Earth's Surface, were *then*, to every Eye, glaringly apparent, though now found only in the Muſeums of the Curious, chiefly in a petrified State, and procured from the Bowels of thoſe marine

marine Strata that univerſally cover our Mountains; which, by protecting theſe intereſting Specimens from the deſtructive Effects of outward Air, has contributed to preſerve them, however ſmall, from that entire Obliteration to which the above Wrecks, by having been left upon the Surface, were, notwithſtanding their enormous Volume, the neglected Victims.

Not, however, (if our Inferences be juſt) until the rational Faculties of newly-created Man, were ſufficiently developed, to be actuated to Speculations relative to their being thus left, and to Concluſions (from the evidently marine Species of many of them) that it was from the haſty Subſidency of the Ocean.

We are then juſtified in believing that the Appearances which ſuggeſted theſe deluvial Ceremonies, were the Produce of a *ſudden* Event; for, if a gradual one, the marine Animals might have retired with the Waters.—In that we have a Confirmation of our Doubts, and in the Length of *Time* requiſite to the *Obliteration* of the moſt voluminous marine Subſtances, *in open Air*; we have ſome Clue for eſtimating *that* neceſſary to the Development

ment of Rationality in the human Species; for without it, theſe Fragments, however vaſt or numerous, had been productive of no Speculations either relating to the Element on whoſe Surface they were thus left, or to that in which they had formerly exiſted.

We cannot, I think, plauſibly protract their Duration (in that entire and rife Appearance which would be requiſite for the Aſcertainment of their *marine* Identity, to ſuch unpractiſed Naturaliſts) to above one *thouſand Years*; and if we ſuppoſe the general Inſtitution of the above Ceremonies, to have perpetuated the Tradition of an univerſal Flood during a thouſand more, we have thus two thouſand *Years* of human Exiſtence previous to written Records: yet was our preſent Habitation covered with the Ocean, for probably thouſands even of *Centuries*, ſince Nothing leſs could have ſufficed to the Subſiſion of ſuch accumulated marine Strata, as, after an accurately ſpecific and *perſonal* Examination, are, in Mr. De Luc's excellent Work, unequivocally proved to exiſt, and univerſally to ſerve as *Coating* to thoſe *primordial* Rocks, which I have ever imagined to be in immediate Contact with

our

our Globe's enormous Shell; ſuppoſing it to be as I conjecture, hollow.

Could we, however, fix with Certainty, the Date of *human* Creation, it would never juſtify the tenacious Adoption of any Hypotheſis, whatever, relative to the anticipated Subſidency of the Waters, unleſs *added* to its Plauſibility, and Conſiſtency with deluvial Ceremonies, it were at the ſame Time, ſupported by univerſal and well-eſtabliſhed phyſical Phænomena, *indicative* of the myſterious Proceſs of ſo very aſtoniſhing an Event: for the gradual One of vegetable and animal Aſſimilation and eventual Conſolidation of theſe Waters, is admitted by the reſpectable Authority of even the cautious Newton, as alone competent to the *entire* Conſumption of the remaining Waters, which, in Length of Time, they muſt, *he ſays*, of Neceſſity accompliſh—And what are in themſelves even Millions of Centuries to *the God of all Eternity?*

As I very ſincerely think Mr. De Luc's *Phyſical Obſervations* highly reſpectable, and as he has himſelf, by his rigorous Criticiſms on the Hypotheſes of both living and departed Writers, exemplified the Doctrine of adopting none what-

whatever, without a ſcrupulous Examination, but more particularly to ſuſpect any, whoſe Tendency is manifeſtly to the Eſtabliſhment of ſome favourite Tenet: I think myſelf, on this Ground, fully authoriſed *conciſely* to examine *his*, as it is, indeed, *ſummarily* written, however ably, honeſtly, and induſtriouſly prepared.

He firſt ſuppoſes (though from the Book of Geneſis, I cannot, well, ſee why) that the offended Deity had, in his Anger, vowed, PERMANENTLY, to deſtroy the World, with its Inhabitants; and (as Mr. De Luc, in ſuch Caſe, conſiſtently preſumes) to furniſh the Poſterity of Noah, who had *alone* found Grace in his Sight, with an ENTIRELY NEW ONE.

In Order, then, that this Hypotheſis (in Deſpight of his philoſophical Profeſſions) may exactly quadrate with theſe *Data*, he informs us, that the old World, that is, the Continent marked out for *permanent* Deſtruction, was erected upon many Storys of airy Vaults, one above another, as far out-topping the Surface of the preſent Ocean, as its Bed is now beneath that Surface; and that when, according to divine Inſtructions, the Ark of Noah was

built and manned, and ſtored, ſuch of the above Vaults as were contiguous to the *ancient* Ocean having, by volcanic Ruptures, admitted a conſiderable Part of it, were, by the ſudden Irruption of thoſe Waters, burſt, and that their Foundations ruining down, all the ſuperior Vaults, even to their Summits, were ſucceſſively immerged, with the Inhabitants upon their Surface, beneath the flooding Waters; and that the prodigious Chaſm occaſioned by the Collapſure and Compreſſion of this whole Continent's airy Lightneſs, afforded ample Capacity for the Reception of the ancient Sea, whoſe Bed, when thus completely drained of its Waters, became the Receptacle and future Manſion of Noah and his Family, with their Deſcendents, even to the preſent Day.

How the Ark of Noah could eſcape foundering when that Surface ruinated down on which it had profeſſedly been built, how it was wafted from the Abyſs that it had fallen into, even to the Top of ARARAT, now, by the Subſidency of the Waters, become a Mountain, and *if cloathed with Olive Trees*, a primordial One, that is, higher than any now exiſting, is, in Truth, hard to gueſs: but what I am chiefly

chiefly ſhocked at is, that *one Half* of our Globe, ſhould have been *prepenſely* founded by the Deity on a Conſtruction ſo heterogeneous and widely differing from the other, that it, in Fact, conveys but the Idea of a premeditated Trap-fall, perfectly, indeed, analogous to Eden's fatal Tree of Knowledge, and fit only for the vindictive and jealous God of Moſes. In this I heartily give him Credit for his Conſiſtency.

I will now, in the ſame ſummary Manner, ſet down my own Hypotheſis, that is, ſtrengthened as my Doubts are, relative to the Ocean's *ſudden* Receſs from the greater Moiety of the Earth's Surface, which it has once indubitably covered: *ſtrengthened*, I ſay, if not confirmed, by the Peruſal of Mr. De Luc's phyſical Inveſtigations, and in general, excellent Reaſoning upon the preſent internal and external-State of the World's Surface.

That the *primordial Mountains*, either as *Bracers* to our Globe's enormous Shell, or as predeſtined Reſervoirs, adapted by their eventual Vicinity to colder Regions, to the Condenſation of atmoſpherical Vapours, and to the future Excavation and Supply of Rivers, after the Ocean had ſufficiently coated their Sides and was ſubſided—that theſe Mountains, I ſay,

were, by the DEITY, *in the firſt Inſtance founded as ſuch*, or that they were *rather*, as I ſuſpect, the Production of volcanic Fires, *temporarily* univerſal on our Globe's Surface, and providentially ordained for the phyſical Formation of theſe Mountains, I ſubmit to the Deciſion of the coſmogonic Philoſopher; although the Texture of the Granite, which they are principally compoſed of, with the internal Warmth of our Globe's Surface, contribute much to ſtrengthen my Suſpicions; and that during their Formation, the *Waters* (in preciſe Analogy to the extenſive and denſe Vapour of a Comet,* although retained within the Vortex of the Earth's central Attraction) were tempora-

* May not? the Comets, which occaſionally recurr to our Sight, be actually Worlds in a preparatory State, and under the volcanic Proceſs above alluded to: their denſe Atmoſphere, and its Aptitude, both to the Refraction and Reflection of volcanic Lights, ſeems fairly to ſuggeſt this Idea. And might not their inflamed Condition, counteract their *elſe* regular Gravitation to the great luminous *central Planet*, as the two ſouth or north Poles of two Magnets, or two Bodies of the *ſame* electrical Influence, rather repel than attract each other. Wou'd not then, I ſay, Comets (which, whilſt in this State, are a fiery Body, as is, probably, the SUN) inſtead of gravitating, on the *Newtonian* Principle, *to it*, rather continue in the Courſe *firſt* imparted to them by their CREATOR, until, by ſome *repulſive* Force *unknown* to us, they were as violently repelled again, in that *long* eliptic Courſe, that is by Aſtronomers aſſigned them?

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rily rarified into a mere Atmoſphere, until enabled by the Cooling of the Globe's Surface, after this *mountainous Operation*, to re-exert their gravitating Faculty, by returning to our Globe in their condenſed, aqueous Form, *when* readily diſſolving thoſe Salts, ſublimed by the volcanic Fires upon the Surface of the new-formed Mountains, they were thereby every where impregnated with that Taſte by which they are diſtinguiſhed, and *then* peopled by the DEITY with Inhabitants of exceedingly varied Qualities and Dimenſions, adapted to the reſpective *Strata* which would owe their Formation to the Ruins of ſucceſſive Generations of them, and to the varied *Depths* intended to receive them; for they were at *this* Time, totally unneceſſary, and probably diſpenſed with on *that* of their preſent Bed.

But that when theſe Accumulations of *Strata* had, through prodigious Length of Time, attained ſufficient Depth of *diſſoluble* and porous Soil, for thoſe intended fluvial and vegetable Purpoſes, to which the vitrious Nature of the primordial Mountains that they covered was inapplicable.

THE OMNIPOTENT AND PROVIDENTIAL DEITY who had thus *prepared* the Reſidence of

of Man, ſeeing that it was now fitted for his Reception, by one expanſive Effort of internal Rarefaction, *regularly amplified* the Dimenſions of our Globe's PREVIOUSLY HEATED METALLIC SHELL; Portions of whoſe Subſtance having been apparently ſublimed by this Heat, were conveyed into thoſe *vertical Fiſſures* of the primordial Mountains, from whence they are, in ſuch infinitely varied Ores, labouriouſly extracted for the Supply of Avarice, and for the neceſſary Services of Man.

Nor need I add, what appears obvious here, that theſe invariably *vertical Fiſſures* muſt have been occaſioned by this myſterious and aſtoniſhing Diſtention, which, though regular in its Effect upon the heated Metal, found a *now* refractory Body in the granite Rock, by its inaptitude to a melting Heat, occaſioned from the Vicinity and Volume of its cretacious, and its watery Coverings.

That this *permanent* Expanſion was proportioned to the Volume of the remaining Waters, for whoſe *ſudden* Subſiſion it was intended, is manifeſted by the Effect; for, being, from that Inſtant, no longer ſufficient to cover the *amplified* Surface of our Globe, they *all* at once ebbing from the emerged Mountains, obeyed the

the Impulſe of their gravitating Nature, and were ſoon rolled into the Bed originally deſtined for their Boundary, and now, in common with the Reſt, enlarged for their Reception.

That this ſudden Expanſion (to whatever requiſite Degree) was poſſible to the DEITY, no Man, but by Impeachment of his Omnipotence, can any how diſpute; and ſhould it be urged as *ad hominem* to me—

Nec Deus interſit, niſi dignus Vindice nodus inciderit

I will readily anſwer, firſt, that the Materials for this *predeſtined* Operation, might (very conſiſtently with *impartial Providence)* have been *originally* diſpoſed with the preciſeſt Relation to the very Hour of their eventual Effect; and if ſo, that it was not *unphyſical,* although an aſtoniſhing Phænomenon! Secondly, that as it was but *preparatory* to the Creation of the human Race, it would be no Exception to the Doctrine which I have formerly held, and ſhall I truſt ever abide by; for it could no how partially, that is, individually influence the *Probation* of yet uncreated Man.

How far the Average of Diſtance and of Expanſion in theſe *vertical Fiſſures* (if by Analogy

Analogy from the Mines hitherto diſcovered, any plauſible Average could be obtained) would enable us to rate the Enlargement that our Globe's Surface has ſuſtained, I will not take upon me to ſay; but ſhould an Attempt to ſuch Calculation be ever made, for the mere Gratification of Curioſity: in its Compariſon with the Body of Waters to be lowered, we ſhould conſider not only the Diminution of them by their extenſive animal Aſſimilation and Conſolidation, employed for the deep Coating of the primordial Rocks, (whoſe ſpecific Gravity being more than double that of Water, ſuppoſes a Conſumption of that Element equal to twice its Volume) but beſides this, (if the merely ſuperficial Relations of Sea and Land be conſidered) the Volume of the primordial Rocks themſelves ſhould be deducted, and *that* Depth *only* of Sea accounted for, which is commenſurable to the Height at which theſe Mountains are *marinely* coated. In the preſent Ocean too, we ſhould conſider, that the primordial Rock on which it lays, having been, previous to this great Event, of ſuch exceeding Depth as to be but little *habitable*, and being on that Account, probably but little covered with the marine *Strata*, which,

which, (as it protected the higher Rocks, both by a Kind of tranſverſe Bond, and by defending them from the Water's immediate Chill,) muſt, by its Abſence, ſubject this lower Bed to Fiſſures of greater Extent and Depth, ſuch as would of themſelves afford capacious Receptacle for a large Portion of the ſubſiding Waters.

The Locality of volcanic Heats under the Ocean's Surface, may, by *occaſional* Changes of *aquatic Climate*, poſſibly have been attended with thoſe Migrations of its Inhabitants, which have given Riſe to the apparent *Anomaly* of the marine Depoſitions; and a Conſideration of this Cauſe, may perhaps render that Anomaly ſomewhat leſs Enigmatical; though the peculiar Identity of Species, by which almoſt every conſiderable Lake is marked, might alone induce us to ſuſpect that this Diverſity is more owing to the Bed their Waters lay on, than to the poſitive Neceſſity of any ſpecifically-adapted Temperature of Climate.

It will be needleſs to obſerve, that, both the *Inferences* leading to the Tradition of a temporary Deluge, and every *phyſical Phænomenon* relative to the marine *Strata*, found in all Parts

of our Continent, are by this Hypotheſis fully accounted for; and—that, the *whole Subſtance* of the *primordial Mountains* was, at the Time of their original *volcanic Formation* impregnated with *Minerals*, by the metallic Shell on which they are immediately ſeated, is as highly probable as it is manifeſtly corroborative of this metallic Shell's Reality; ſince there is, I believe, no *coarſe Sand* whatever from which Gold itſelf, in ſome ſmall Portion, may not be extracted; and Sand of every Kind is, I preſume, but triturated *Granite*, waſhed by Showers from the Sides and Summits of the primordial Rocks, often carried by Rivers into the Ocean, and from thence, by Tides and Currents, again wafted to the Shore.

But,—for the *rich* Charging of the *invariably-vertical Fiſſures* with every Kind of Ore, I can ſcarcely heſitate to aſcribe it *ſolely* to *Sublimations* ariſing from that Heat requiſite to the regular Expanſion of our Globe's *metallic Shell*, as the vertical Fiſſures themſelves were to the Water's covering them, and by that Means preventing their Attainment of a Degree of Heat ſufficient for the *unruptured* Expanſion of vitrious Subſtances.

And

And now having, in the conciſeſt Manner poſſible, ſet down all that I think *generally* neceſſary upon this intereſting Subject, I will finally take my Leave of it, by again ſincerely acknowledging, that my Hypotheſis, whether it be a ſolid or a crazy One, would ſurely never have been committed to the Preſs but for the Suggeſtions received in its Support from Mr. De Luc's elaborate Inveſtigations, and more particularly from his Remarks on the invariable VERTICALLITY of every Fiſſure to be met with in the PRIMORDIAL MOUNTAINS whatever be their Compoſition, whether Schiſte, or Serpentine, or Quartz, or Granite.

FINIS.

First Printed in 1789.

My final Fare-well to this intereſting Subject.

Written with, perhaps, ſome Enthuſiaſm, during a very precarious State of Health, early in the Year 1800.

BY what has been, already, ſaid upon the Subject of *Intellect*, it appears, I think, ſufficiently clear, that the *Brute Creation* are, at their very Entrance into Life, univerſally furniſhed with *Sagacity appropriat to their Kind:* for, I cannot, I confeſs, pay much Regard to the Obſervations of a poetical Phyloſopher or Compiler, who would, vainly (in Support of their experimental Knowledge) perſwade us, that Quadrupeds learn to ſwim in the Matrix of their Dam; which, if even plauſible, would apply with equal Force to the Human Embrio, who, being *ſolitary*, might, with ſtill more Advantage, have availed himſelf of that Situation.

The *human Mind* (on the contrary) from the moſt attentive Obſervations that I have been able to make, ſeems to be, *at its Birth*, litterally a *Blank*; ſuſceptible *therefore* of every Impreſſion, but gifted, by its CREATOR, with aſtoniſhing Activity, and if properly *initiated*; and

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and induſtriouſly cultivated, with inconceivable Reſources.

The apparent Thirſt of Novelty which we obſerve in Children (and to them every Thing is ſo) need not ſurpriſe us, if we but revert to the Gratification we received from the gay Scenery exhibited by what is called the Magic-Lanthern, when firſt preſented to our View: ſuch, and, I preſume, equally ſtriking, is the Imagery refracted through the new-born Eye upon the *infant Retina*. But, as Amuſement and Variety, with the Releif of his neceſſary Wants, ſeem to be the ſole Purſuits of merely natural, "*unaccommodated Man*," the Powers of even mental Retention are ſeldom cultivated by him with any Accuracy; ſtill leſs thoſe of *Analogy* and *Inferance*, the genuine Furniſhers and ultimate Refiners of *human Sagacity*.

I will not, again, enter upon a Diſcuſſion of the moral Merits of that highly diſcriminative and ſcrupulous Cultivation, which I formerly contended for; it is ſufficient to have proved it, a real Accumulation of, perhaps, endleſs future Treaſures, and an unequivocal Extenſion of the vaſt Circle of our future Purſuits and Enjoyments.—My preſent Object is, to illuſtrate, in this, as in every other Inſtance, the condeſcending, and even minutely attentive Benevolence of the DEITY, to the meritorious Part of his *rational Creation:* for, what can poſſibly be more ſo, or more flattering to the Dignity of the HUMAN INTELLECT, than the Con-

Conſciouſneſs of having been ordained its own *virtual Fabricator*, which, if the above *Data* be admitted, it manifeſtly is.

With Materials for this *ſpiritual Building*, we are all equally, amply, and obviouſly ſupplied, likewiſe with Senſes reſpectively adapted to their Reception, and with mental Faculties for their Retention: what remains for us is, their Selection, Examination, Appropriation, and Arrangement.

To determine at what Period of the Exiſtance of any human Individual, the ſpecific Accident took Place, which influenced his future Turn of Thought, would probably exceed the diſcriminating and recollective Powers, not only of that Individual, but of the moſt obſervant Parent or Preceptor. And though it may often happen later in Life, and by the Example and Suggeſtion of others, yet I make no Doubt of its happening ſtill oftener at a much earlier Period than we are aware of.—I can conceive that, even the Treatment of the Nurſe may irrevocably influence the Temper of the Infant.—With a perverſe Child, the Arts of Concilliation are ever fruitleſs. A *canting* Nurſe may render *him* a Hypocrite; one who promiſes and deceives, may make *him* falſe; an imperious one, will probably make *him (in his Turn)* tyranical; a fooliſhly fond Admirer of all he ſays or does, will render him indifferent to the Matter or the Manner of either, troubleſomly impatient of every Attention paid

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to any Thing, but himſelf, and a Deteſter of every One to whom he may not appear equally a Prodigy.—That a very ſtrong and active Mind may (like that of Socrates) determine, at an advanced Age, reſolutely to reſiſt and conquer a radically depraved Nature (for, *very early Habits*, we *think*, and therefore call *radical)* is, we find by Experience, poſſible, and is, ſurely, entitled to more than common Praiſe. But, when we reflect upon the, often, reſiſtleſs Force of *Habit*, and the faſcinating Power of Prejudice, the extreem Scarcity of ſuch Examples can no longer ſurprize us: aided too, as they commonly are, by the Allurements of Diſſipation and Senſuality.

If it be urged by the motly Liſt of Believers in the innumerably diverſified Revealations, which have diſgraced the Annals of the human Race, that, while I am rejecting all pretended *ſupernatural* Inſtructions whatever, I am arrogantly obtruding and enforcing my *own*, my Anſwer may be eaſily collected from what I have formerly declared upon this Subject—that all Aſſerters of the Truth of ſupernatural Doctrines, blaſphemouſly impeach the DIVINE BEING of *Partiallity* in each Inſtance, and that theſe impiouſly daring Impoſtures, conſidered in the Maſs, ſerve, but (by their infinite Variety) to confuſe, and to deſtroy our Confidence in *any*. For my own Notions, being, as they are, but Part of the great *Aggregate* of meerly human Doctrines and Diſcoveries, they are *as* manifeſtly

feſtly *Part* of that genuine Source, from which human Knowledge of every Kind was, by the DEITY, intended to be drawn; and with a View to which, Rationality was probably imparted to us.—*Conſcience* alone *(as one ſolitary inſtinctive Gift)* had (if *implanted* in us in a ſufficiently enforced Degree) effectually precluded the Neceſſity of Revealation, and enſured all WORLDLY HAPPINESS. But, without the Poſſibility of ſinful Lapſe, where? ſhall we find a *probatory State*; where? the Poſſibility of acquired Merit or of Error. Whence? even the diſtant Proſpect of a future *Reward.*

For my own Suggeſtions, I moſt readily admit, that they have no further Claim to Attention, than that, to which, the total Diſprejudice, ſound Argument, or moral Utility and Comfort they have in View, may or may not, juſtly entitle them.—My ſteady Object has been "*to juſtify the Ways of God to Man,*" to clear him from thoſe Inconſiſtencies aſcribed to him, and from the miſerable Deſcriptions of pretended Prophets; to ſhew that no Portraiture or Combination of created Qualities, can, even diſtantly, reſemble that GLORIOUS BEING. The Truth of Milton's Painting I yet, acknowledge, *where* (in one Inſtance) *poetically rapt*, beyond the Influence of warping Orthodoxy, Adam, before the Production of his Mate, complaining of his ſolitary Condition, (the inſtinctive Tribes being no fit Compa-

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nions for one indued with Reaſon) is anſwered by his CREATOR,

> What thinkſt thou then of Me? who am alone
> From all Eternity, for none I know
> Second to Me, or like, equal, much leſs!

When the Naturaliſt, above alluded to, is endeavoring, in Spight of Senſe and Obſervation, to oblitterate every *intellectual* Diſtinction between Man and Beaſt, excepting what might reſult from the Advantage of a more extenſive Language, than, even, he is reduced to grant the Latter; it is charitably hoped that, like a genuine Pythagorean, he conſciencioufly abſtains from devouring his fellow Creatures: for ſuch (upon his Principles) to every *moral* Intent or Purpoſe, they clearly are.—Remove, but, the diſcriminating Barrier, that ſeperates *Rationality* and *Inſtinct*, and I defy the acuteſt Reaſoner *(viſionary Legends apart)* to produce one ſolid Argument in favor of a *future State*, to which, at leaſt, the brute Creation are not equally (and by the faireſt and moſt obvious Inferance) far more generally entitled.

It would, however, be little ſhort of an Abuſe of Rationality, to imagine that, in theſe Days, any Man, even of common Reflection, could for a Moment confound the Faculties of Inſtinct and Rationality, as the reſpective Attributes of the Brute and Human Being, and ſtill more ſo, when we reflect upon the moral and religious Views, for which *alone*, Reaſon ſeems

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to have been *excluſively* imparted to Man: with its indiſpenſible Aſſociate of *Aptitudes* to articulate Speech. For, Language, though but the aggregate Invention of Ages, was a Fabric likewiſe of human Conſtruction. And to ſuppoſe that *Animals without it*, ſhould entertain Ideas of Morality, and from the cœleſtial and earthly Objects that ſurround them, draw Inferances, conciliative of the Adoration of their Creator, and Proofs of his undoubted Love of Rectitude, is too wild, to be imputed, even, to the above Naturaliſt.

That the Deductions inculcated in theſe few *concluding* Lines, tend to encourage the Cultivation of the human Mind, and to the unequivocally diſcriminating and fixing its moral and religious Duties, none can, or dare *(in Conſcience)* deny: for, what can be more alluring than to reflect, that the flattering, though laborious Attainment of conſummate Knowledge, together with habitual FORTITUDE, BENEVOLENCE, DISCERNMENT, and INTEGRITY, far from being obliterated by a corporeal Diſſolution, will (as in thoſe who wake from Sleep, or from a temporary Suſpention or Derangement of Mind) be, in a far purer State of Exiſtence, when the Infirmities of Age are buried with that corruptible Frame, on which they naturally grew, permanently enabled to purſue, and even to Infinity improve their glorious Stock; as the due Reward of their juſt *Appropriation* of the divine Faculty of Reaſon.

—And,

—And, to conceive or dread the "*falling into Nought*" of ſuch a Fabric, *tantæ molis ædificii!* founded (as I ſuppoſe it) on the ſplendid Baſis of *thoſe Habits*, which can alone conſtitute Virtue, is a Suſpicion, fit only for the evil-minded and ill-informed Sceptic, or for the gloomy Depravity of intolerant, ignorant, and ſuperſtitious Prejudice.

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CURSORY REMARKS
ON
INFANCY
AND
EDUCATION.

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AFTER Rouſſeau's moſt elaborate Treatiſe on Education, and in the Face of ſuch very reſpectable Names as Locke and Milton, a few merely ſummary Obſervations on ſo important a Subject, can be excuſed on no Principle but this, that too much cannot be ſaid upon it, and that even Repetition may, in this Inſtance, ſerve to awaken our Attention, which is clearly no indifferent Point gained; for I have long been convinced that moſt People, who think at all, and without Prejudice, think nearly alike, and think generally right.

In Conformity to this Maxim, I am fully of Opinion with Rouſſeau, that Education cannot begin too early, if properly adapted to the Age of the Pupil; and in Infants, to their Conſtitution; for many are ſo infirm 'till two Year old, that the ſmalleſt Inattention to their Cries is often of real Injury to them; while the very Screaming of others, may, perhaps,

if they are ſound and robuſt, be a beneficial Exerciſe; we ſhould nevertheleſs endeavour to find out its Cauſe, without pleading, as is too often done, the idle Apprehenſion of cultivating ill Habits; which is but a lame Defence of the moſt unfeeling and dangerous Neglect; for, the very Recollection of Habits, contracted at that early Period (when their Inclinations are ſo compleatly under our Direction) may, with little Contrivance, be gradually warped to others of a more laudable Kind, both by prudently availing ourſelves of the Shortneſs of their Memory, and of the Prevalence of their *little Paſſions*, Engines, which, if dexterouſly managed, put them entirely at our Mercy.

The Antients, and particularly the Spartans *(who were famed for the Management of their Children)* were fond of dipping them in cold Water; and I make no Doubt but that (independent of other great Advantages) if they are free from any dangerous Complaints, the daily Practice of it from three Months old, is, both for their Nurſe and themſelves, the moſt healthy and compendious Way of waſhing them. They ſhould begin to *crawl* as early as poſſible; it ſtrengthens both their Arms and

their

their Cheſt; it is the only Means of doing it for ſome Years, and indeed, Providence ſeems to beſpeak it, by ſo long a Protraction of their Ability to walk. All Ligatures, and too much Covering either by Day or Night, ſhould be carefully avoided: By our Habits of Over-warmth in *Bed*, all, I fear, who can afford it, are but too apt to *counteract* their moſt ſtudious Endeavours towards the Endurance of Cold by Day: We ſhould otherwiſe be far hardier than we in general are. Our too late Diſcovery of this Error, may be at leaſt beneficial to the Race to come. It is needleſs I hope to remark, that the Habits of bearing Cold in Bed ſhould be firſt contracted in temperate Weather; and, that in Caſe of Illneſs, the firſt Thing is to get well at any Rate; the next, to return *gradually* to beneficial Habits.

Aptitudes towards the Faculty of Memory, may be cultivated very early in Life, and by the Means of little colateral *Land-marks* ſuggeſted to Children, (particularly ſuch as intereſt them) may be not only much aſſiſted, but at the ſame Time, will be neceſſarily accompanied with Habits of Obſervation; they are naturally curious, and, by Conſequence, inquiſitive; our

Anſwers to them ſhould be ſimple and clear, but true, and by little at a Time, they elſe queſtion merely to *prattle*.

Much depends upon the Choice of their Play-things; *Whips*, for Inſtance, make them Tyrants; *Marbles* are attended with but little Exerciſe, and help to cultivate Habits of Gambling; *Whiſtles*, beſides their obvious Inconvenience, and their Offence to the Lungs, engroſs too much of their Attention to an unprofitable Object, they think they have diſcovered a new Faculty in themſelves, in which they are fully equal to their *Superiors*; for ſuch they ſhould be taught to believe every one at Man's Eſtate; and (as the Spartans wiſely obſerved) except when drunk, ſhould never ſee him but in a Light of Reſpect. I agree with Rouſſeau, the *Loi des plus forts*, ſhould be ſtrictly obſerved, but, with a Power of *Appeal*, in which the Outrage ſhould be clearly ſtated, and ſhortly and fairly argued; they would by that Means, ſoon contract Ideas of Juſtice, and be experimentally taught not to overrate their own Importance.

Their Amuſements ſhould always tend to ſome diſtined *Period*, the keeping that Period

in

in View, will teach them Steadineſs and Perſeverance: *As it is*, they uſually leave all Things unfiniſhed, and wiſh for Nothing but Novelty; a dangerous Habit if not checked in Time. Their Dreſs cannot be too plain, and if they *hanker* after one more ornamented, it will be eaſy to deter them from that, or indeed any other vain Purſuit, by pointing it out in ſome one of their own Age, that happens on any Account to be odious or deſpicable in their Eyes. Pride is perhaps the firſt Paſſion that enters their Minds, and if properly directed the moſt uſeful.

I ſuppoſe him now five or ſix Year old, and I take for granted, that from his Curioſity *properly managed*, and at his own Requeſt, you have taught him to read fluently, and to write a little. The dead Languages if he be a Son of Opulence, are we preſume to be learned, both for his own future Entertainment, and with a View to ſpeaking his native Language with Propriety and *Confidence*; here it may not be amiſs to recollect how old Montaigne learned them, it was ſimply as each Man learns his own, that is, by Rote, and of Conſequence, eaſily and fluently; our young Ladies of Faſhion

I believe learn French in the ſame Manner; but, as it will be difficult to find a Preceptor that will ſpeak elegant *Idiom* in Latin, though Hundreds may be found to talk intelligibly and ſufficiently for Explanation; after two Years, that is, about eight Year old, he may begin the eaſier Claſſics, and conſult his Grammar; his Dictionary he will ſeldom want, his Preceptor when he does, will generally ſupply its Place; and if he has either Wit or Candour, will not be aſhamed to point out the Inaccuracies and falſe Idiom he had been himſelf guilty of, during their two Years occaſional Diſcourſe in a dead Language. Why this Method is not practiſed at Eaton, Weſtminſter, and other Schools, is aſtoniſhing. It is by talking *Nonſenſe* at firſt, that every Language is learned. If every Requeſt of the Scholar, either in Engliſh, or whatſoever Attempts to Latin, was by the Maſter or Uſhers immediately put into *intelligible Latin*, and he made once or twice to repeat it, he would every Day learn *Something at leaſt*; were it but a Sentence in a Week, it is, I fear, more than in the preſent barbarous Method, many do in ſeven tedious Years.—Why ſhould not Boys, under ſmall Penalties,

talk

talk the *beſt Latin they can* during School Hours to each other? An Excuſe for any moderate Offence pleaded in Latin ſhould be valid; a bigger Boy, or an Uſher, might ſuggeſt it, if they did but repeat it from Memory, without torturing their poor Brains with Grammar or Dictionary, at an Age when either are of little Uſe, if we really mean to teach, not to *puzzle* them. Were it once *well introduced*, the Habit of ſpeaking decent Latin would ſoon be as general as it is in ſome Parts of Poland; nor need the Maſters be aſhamed of expoſing their *apparent Ignorance*. I was once witneſs to a very ſenſible Frenchman's Incapacity to utter an intelligible Sentence in Engliſh, who had yet a tolerable Pronunciation, and had evidently read and well underſtood many of our beſt Authors: I have known the ſame both in Spaniſh and Italian; ſo different a Matter is the underſtanding even a living Language, and the ſpeaking it.

I have in every Thing the higheſt Reſpect for Mr. Locke, yet I cannot help being tempted to differ from him on the Article of going wet-ſhod: Where Accident renders it neceſſary, it is certainly fortunate to be able to bear

bear it, but I would not, as he does (if I remember right) ſolicit ſuch a Situation. I am rather of Opinion with Marſhal Saxe that the Feet in that Caſe periſh, or at leaſt ſuffer in a Degree with the Shoes and Stockings. As to Children dabbling in Puddles, I am by no Means averſe to it; to that End, let them draw off both Shoes and Stockings; and I would even recommend that they ſhould every Day, for at leaſt an Hour or two, play about bare-foot in Wet or Dry. Rouſſeau is of the ſame Opinion; they would be then qualified to waſh their Feet every Night, and harden them in cold Water. It is the Practice among the poorer Sort of both northern and ſouthern Nations, and many Ways contributes in the moſt enviable Degree to their Alertneſs by Night. I have beſides obſerved great Uſe made of the Feet by the Italian Sailors, in the Management of the Ropes aloft; they ſeem in that Inſtance, to avail themſelves of a ſecond Pair of Hands, and to demonſtrate by viſible Proofs, that our Toes were not (as we ſeem to apprehend) given us by Providence merely as an Inconvenience, and to be bound up from Sight and Uſe. I might here likewiſe remark

the

the Abſurdity of uſing one Arm, in conſtant Preference to the other, by which the whole left Side is rendered feeble, aukward, and often rheumatic: He who uſes both *equally* is *at leaſt twice the Man.*

Another Thing the Moderns ſtrangely neglect, I mean Bathing and Swimming, which for their Wholeſomeneſs, Cleanlineſs, Utility, and perſonal Safety, ſhould by every Rank in Life be indiſpenſibly learned at a very early Period, and their conſtant Practice unremittingly obſerved, however cold the Seaſon, if we would be enabled effectually to reſiſt the Rigours of froſty Air. The public Baths of the Romans were innumerable, and they were ſo no Doubt, becauſe ſo ſenſible a People were fully convinced of their ſalutary Effects.

Nothing braces ſo much, or is more conducive to Health, and to the future important Concerns of Life, as *continued* Exerciſe. Two Precautions, however, are indiſpenſibly neceſſary in its Purſuits if violent; the One, a very gradual and imperceptibly encreaſed Training to the firſt Habits of it; and if long omitted, the ſame Caution on its Reſumption: Without this, Fevers and other Diſorders are often occaſioned,

caſioned, by the ſudden Combuſtion it creates in the Blood.—The Other is, never, after exerciſing to a Degree of Laſſitude, to indulge in a *full Meal*; for, the digeſtive Faculties being proportionally exhauſted, with the Reſt of the Body, muſt of Neceſſity be rendered incompetent to the Act of pure Digeſtion; the ill Conſequences are obvious.

A thouſand light entertaining Books, will, with a *little Contrivance* while young, bewitch their Fancy into the Love of Reading, altho' the Bible and the Pſalms of David, too often prove but unſucceſsful Allurements in their early Days.

Though in this *Age of Faſhion* it is generally deemed *bourgeois* to do any Thing with Application or Attention, I would yet cultivate as early as poſſible the Habits of deliberately planning and attentively performing to the utmoſt of their Ability, even the moſt ordinary Actions; for, independent of the Benefit that their Judgment will inſenſibly receive from this Practice, they will involuntarily contract a certain Eaſe and Elegance in the moſt difficult; I am beſides, convinced that a Mind truely and invariably affected with the

Harmony

Harmony of *mechanical Order and Propriety*, can *(by the cleareſt Parity of Reaſoning)* ſcarcely fail to be (purely for its own intrinſic Merits) a Votary to Virtue, and that, if habitual Feelings of this Kind do not actually add Strength to the moſt ſtoical Principles, they will at leaſt facilitate, and even give a Tincture of Pleaſure to the Performance of their moſt rigid Dictates.

If a Boy has much Vivacity, and by his Application and Attention to Study, gives at the ſame Time a flattering Promiſe of Talents, there can be no Doubt (whatever be his Birth) but that a public Education is likely ſooneſt to produce them to Advantage, from the illuſtrious Connections that it will ſo early enable him to form. We ſhould be however firſt well aſſured of our Fact, and reſolve before we begin, to purſue our Views with the utmoſt Liberality; but there is even here a dangerous Inconvenience; for, though without theſe liberal Supplies, he will if only a Commoner, be totally neglected, or reduced to aſſociate with Nobility on the wretched Terms of Dependence, or the ſtill baſer Views of Gain: With them, he is ſure of being prematurely initiated into many Vices, particularly thoſe of Gaming

ming and Drinking; add to this, that if a Nobleman, and opulent, he will infallibly aſſociate to himſelf an inſeparable Satellite, who, though he may poſſibly turn out deſerving, will certainly be *choſen* at an Age when the One is not competent to diſtinguiſh, nor the *Turn* and Character of the Other of Maturity, ſufficient to be determined; yet will this Friend or Favourite probably influence every future Action of his Life.

If a Parent has Leiſure and Diſpoſition, and is qualified and equal to the Taſk: or if he can afford it, and will make Choice of a Preceptor that is, and retain him for about eight Years; a private Education is *in general* certainly the moſt eligible; though Men are ſo unjuſt as to conclude the contrary, from the decided Majority of thoſe publicly educated, who have proved Ornaments to their Country; without reflecting that the Odds on their Side, in Point of Candidates, was at leaſt in the Proportion of fifty to one.

In the Courſe of a private Education, no decent Opportunity ſhould be omitted of introducing the Pupil into the moſt *exemplary* Company, previouſly pointing out to him thoſe,

thoſe, who are moſt worthy of Imitation and Notice; and on his return Home, enquiring into the Obſervations he has made, and making ſuch Comments on them yourſelf, as are proportioned to his Age and Degree of Information. This Obtruſion of him at ſo early a Period, will be often overlooked, if his Diſpoſition has been properly conducted; for his good Senſe and Modeſty will, in that Caſe, direct him to be for ſome Years an attentive Obſerver, merely and ſcrupulouſly, unleſs firſt addreſſed, and he will by that Means, not only be doubly benefited, but he will run little Riſque of being *a Charges*. This Practice was much in Uſe among the Spartans.

As to Travelling, if we would copy ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Antients, and follow the manifeſt Dictates of Reaſon, it ſhould, I think, be undertaken upon a very liberal Scale; and by no Means 'till he is ſomewhat acquainted with his own Country; and of an Age both to *conduct himſelf* with Propriety, and to avail himſelf of the Obſervations he will be enabled to make in the Courſe of four Years Abſence. The firſt, will be compleatly employed in barely underſtanding the Languages,

Languages, without which, he might to the full as well have ſtaid at Home; for it is obviouſly, the only Means of being in any Sort acquainted with the People; he muſt learn them by actually living with Foreigners, and not as we too often do, aſſociating only with his *Countrymen*. It is nevertheleſs *here* that he ſhould make Choice of his future Connections in Life, from among the Numbers of Engliſh of every Rank that he will neceſſarily meet in the Courſe of his Continuation on the Continent, and which on his return to England, he may prudently cement; for at the Age of four or five and twenty, I ſhould ſuppoſe his Judgement nearly as ſound as it ever will be; although his Mind, better furniſhed at a more advanced Period, with Objects of Compariſon, by the endleſs Acceſſion of Experience, may perhaps from Analogy, ſometimes be enabled to draw more plauſible Concluſions; or, as in Effect, few poſſible Caſes will be *then* new to him and he may profit even by the Error of former Opinions. *Such only is the Benefit of Age.*

Much of his Leiſure has (I take for granted) before he quitted England, been employed in reading

reading *at leaſt good Tranſlations* of Herodotus Thucidides, Zenophon, Plutarch, and the Roman Hiſtory: for mere Matter of Fact, it is not poſſitively neceſſary that he ſhould read the Originals *through*, though he will be often *well paid* in conſulting them for particular Paſſages: and before his Return, he will probably have gone through Guiciardin, Machiavel, and Davila: The French and Engliſh Hiſtories will now be far more intereſting to him; and the laſt four Years, will, upon the whole have given him that *relative Knowledge of himſelf*, that will fully entitle him to engage in whatever he may *judge proper* to undertake: As he will by this Time probably have diſcovered, that he is neither qualified from his Talents, nor adapted by his Diſpoſition, to ſucceed in every Line of Life, tho' perhaps calculated to ſhine in many, if properly choſen.

I rather wiſh him to be an Admirer of the Charms of Muſic in others, than that he ſhould poſſeſs any Excellence, as a Performer, himſelf: the Time conſumed in its Attainment, would ſuffice to the Cultivation of almoſt any two uſeful Sciences, not to mention many other Inconveniences neceſſarily attendant on its Purſuit.

Bodily Proweſs and Addreſs in the different athletic Sciences, have ſuffered much in their Eſtimation ſince the Introduction of Fire-arms, I would yet wiſh our young Pupil to adopt their Practice *(without Partiality in the Uſe of his Hands)* as Part of his daily Exerciſe; for, beſides the manly Form and elegant Carriage that his Body will involuntarily contract by it, I am perſuaded that their Knowledge, in every Branch, cannot but add a Confidence to natural Courage; and may poſſibly be ſome Time of Service, in repelling the Attacks of Ruffians. Horſemanſhip is likewiſe a gentlemanly and uſeful Qualification, and though I would not wiſh him to paſs his Life altogether in the Fields, yet he would I think do well to ſpend many Hours *(with his Gun, if permitted)* in thoſe of the Countries he viſits: That he may not only judge of *their Face* in particular, but, that he may habituate his Sight to the quick Deciſion of advantageous Poſts, and other Localities, that with Relation to *Defiles*, Mountains, Vallies, and Rivers, often bear ſome Analogy, though in different Countries, and may well be of Service to him, in Future, ſhould he ever be inclined or obliged to take the

the Field. An intimate Knowledge of Natural Hiſtory and of Mechanics, was often of the moſt eſſential Service to the immortal Julius Cæſar, the greateſt Leader and moſt accompliſhed Gentleman among the Antients: And to early Purſuits of this Kind, a modern Hero has lately been much indebted, as they have enabled him to reflect the trueſt Glory upon his Country, by the four Years ſucceſsful Defence of a barren Rock, in a ſultry Climate, againſt the united and unremitting Efforts of the Houſe of Bourbon; more if poſſible, than even his conſummate Merit and Experience as a General, or his wiſe and exemplary Regularity, Diſcipline, and Abſtinence as a Philoſopher.

Let me conclude this Sketch with ſaying, that unleſs you build the Hope of his future Fortune *on the indiſcriminate Defence of Right and Wrong*, you ſhould above all Things inculcate, even from his Infancy, the moſt incorruptible Attachment to HABITS OF INGENUOUSNESS; you will be then infallibly ſure of Succeſs in every Endeavour, not with Rouſſeau, cunningly to trick your Pupil, but by con-

convictive Argument to perſuade him, fairly and openly like Socrates, into the moſt ardent Purſuit of Rectitude, and the ſteady Practice of Virtue.

FINIS.

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THOUGHTS

ON THE

RISE AND DECLINE

OF THE

POLITE ARTS,

&c.

THOUGHTS
On the RISE and DECLINE of the POLITE ARTS.

IT is a Fact worthy of Attention, that almoſt every Science or Art has ſhone in its greateſt Splendor, at the apparent Period of its Commencement; but what renders it an Object of ſtill more intereſting Conſideration is, that if the Arts have at any Time lain long dormant, the ſame Remark has been applicable at their Renewal.

What I here affirm, is I think, of too general Notoriety, to admit of its being in any Sort diſputed; yet as a few Examples from different Ages and Countries, will be too ſhortly run over to tire much, and can therefore ſerve only to give it clearer Proof, I will begin with inſtancing Homer, who ſtands alone, and may in every Senſe, juſtly be ſtiled the firſt of Poets, having (as far as could, from mere Tradition, be collected by the moſt antient Authors) preceded by ſome Centuries, even the Civilization of Nations. Lycurgus and Solon

ſtand foremoſt in the Liſt of Legiſlators; Pericles, as a Stateſman; Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato, as Philoſophers; Thucydides and Xenophon, as Hiſtorians; and Phidias, as a Statuary, Architect, and general Director in all Matters of ornamental Grandeur; theſe great Men as they excelled all, who came after them, even to the Time of Alexander, (which for Brevity I will paſs over, as it will be ſoon alluded to) ſo, they were the firſt who in each Profeſſion, after the *firm* Eſtabliſhment of civil Society in Greece, attempted it: I ſhall ſay Nothing of their Painters, for, their Works being periſhed, it is impoſſible to form (however ſpecious) any real Judgment of their Merit.

If we deſcend about four hundred Years lower, we ſhall equally find the firſt Pretenders to it, the moſt conſpicuous at Rome; and as the Dawning of Elegance in that famous City, was the Nurſling of Mecænas, he had likewiſe the compleat Satisfaction, of enjoying its full Meridian, of which Virgil and Horace give alone ſufficient Teſtimony; there was, from a Century at moſt, after the Deceaſe of that amiable Man, a rapid Decline, and ſoon a total

tal Receſs of Arts, for near fourteen more; *when* * under the Protection and Encouragement of the Medicis Family, they again *at once* took Giant-Strides, in the Perſons of Guiciardin, Machiavel, Pulci, Boyardo, Arioſto, Taſſo, Michael Angelo, Leonardo, Titian, Raphael, and Corregio, beſides many others; and after flouriſhing about a Century and Half, had a moſt ſplendid and noble Exit, in the Bologneſe School, under the three Caracci, and their three egregiouſly finiſhed Pupils: Here too, as formerly in Greece, they travelled a few hundred Miles, and ſeemed after the ſame Lapſe of Time, in the ſame Degree to regain their Vigour by a Change of Soil.

There appears a Kind of Uniformity in the Progreſs of theſe diſtant Events, more imputable to the conſequentially neceſſary Effect of ſome latent Cauſe, than to that of mere Hazard; and though directly to penetrate that Cauſe would be no eaſy Taſk, yet it might in ſome Meaſure lead to the Diſcovery, if we

* I am conſcious of having *here* omitted Dante, Petrarc, and Bocaccio; who, tho' preceding the others by near two Centuries, were but too like Comets, by a kind of inſulated and unconnected Paſſage.

could prove (from a State of the Circumſtances in which *thoſe* ſet out, who firſt arrived at Conſummacy in each Profeſſion) that preciſely ſuch a Situation was beſt calculated for the producing a like Proficiency, and that when arrived at a certain Degree of Excellence, Reaſons equally plauſible were aſſigned for their Decline, if proſecuted on the Spot of their native Growth.

In order to the accounting for ſo ſeemingly ſtrange a Truth, I will lay down one Suppoſition, founded I think in Reaſon; it is, that though there may be well allowed to exiſt in human Nature, moſt extraordinary *Aptitudes* to Genius, yet no One can be truely aſſerted to have been ever actually born with it, ſince innate Ideas of Perfection, are at *leaſt* as repugnant to Reaſon, as thoſe of other Matters, nor could they by any other natural Means, poſſibly enter the human Mind, than by thoſe of Compariſon, and ſhould be therefore always underſtood as relative only.

Let us believe then, that Homer, and every other Leader in his reſpective Way, was bleſt with his happy Diſpoſition, which I take to conſiſt chiefly in an inveſtigating Turn to inquire

quire after, a clear Judgment to diſtinguiſh, and an indefatigable and emulous Deſire to excel what he has once found to have real Merit, which when extracted, in however ſmall a Quantity, from the Droſs it was ſurrounded with, he cautiouſly ſets by, and relies on, as the Criterion, and ſterling *Touch*, often to be recurred to, for the Trial of his future Labours.

As the fabulous Times of Heroiſm, Apotheiſm, and Myſtery, could not fail of furniſhing, to an accurate and diligent Searcher, a Model of this Nature, ſo it is the only Model, that could poſſibly lay no prejudicial Conſtraint upon the Fancy; which would neither be cramped by ſervile Attention to a compleat Original, nor circumſcribed by the Fear of Repetition, and muſt conſequently (amidſt an endleſs Variety of virgin Materials) be left to the moſt free unbounded Purſuits; which, if on Examination, they were found too luxuriant, might at Pleaſure be redued to the Standard of his precious Fragment; nay, even the Traſh he had diſcarded to obtain it, would be a rigorous Leſſon to him, for the like Treatment of ſuch of his own Productions as might ſuffer by a Compariſon.

To avoid Prolixity and Confuſion, I will confine myſelf to proving that the above Principles are in all Reſpects as applicable to Statuary and Painting, as to Poetry, and that where either is arrived at its Zenith, (it muſt, if the moſt providential Precautions be not taken to prevent it,) ſoon decline; *that* unavoidable Reſtraint, which perfect and *entire* Models will ever lay upon the Imagination, being, through the Intereſtedneſs of Parents, even ſolicited; for, inſtead of conſulting the real Inclinations of Nature, at an Age when it might truly declare itſelf, Children are, *at beſt*, cheated into a too early Preference of that Profeſſion, by which the Father's Avarice, Vanity, or Convenience, is likely eaſieſt to be ſerved; if it happens to be that of Statuary or Painting, the firſt Years are generally worſe than loſt, in copying the Works of their Maſter, or ſuppoſe, even thoſe of the moſt eminent, with a view to the forming his Hand and his Judgment; and in Fact it does ſo to a a Degree (if he ſucceeds at all) that becomes habitual, and can never after be ſufficiently conquered, to admit of, even an Attempt to a genuine Production; examine the Works of Students

Students under this abſurd Conſtraint, if the Scene and Dreſs be a little varied in them, the ſame Set of Geſtures and of Countenances, ever plainly diſcovers from what *Troop* the Actors were borrowed; it might not improperly be termed a Species of *Compilation*; it is like that too, ever accompanied with inſeparable Tameneſs.

Can the Indifference of Patrons, *then*, be wondered at, or the Decline which muſt of Conſequence follow it? I will only add as a corroborating Proof of this Opinion, that the Egyptians, who, by a miſtaken Law, were compelled to purſue the ſame Profeſſion with their Fathers, in Deſpite of their indefatigable Perſeverence in the Way of Sculpture, have never produced one tolerable Statue, Bas-relief, Gem, or Medal, tho' the Quantity they have left behind them is without Number.

In Oppoſition to a Conduct that appears ſo evidently pernicious to the polite Arts, if the State I have endeavoured to give of their Riſe, Progreſs, and Decline, be a juſt one, Rules for their Perfection and Permanency, may, with the moſt obvious Facility, be drawn from it.

Let

Let us preſume then, that like a Pericles or a Mecænas, the Perſon, who has Spirit and Taſte enough to undertake the Patronage and Cultivation of Talents, has likewiſe *Diſcernment*, judiciouſly to ſelect the apteſt of the many ingenious and promiſing Youths, with which every Nation is furniſhed, and whoſe Hands (though deſtined by the Perverſeneſs of their Parents to very different Employments) are already *formed* by the irreſiſtible Propenſity of Nature; indulged perhaps by Stealth, or for Recreation at their Hours of Leiſure; in *ſuch* Nothing would be wanting, after having made it their Intereſt and their Duty to purſue the real Impulſe of their Fancy, but to ſupply them with the Means of doing it with Succeſs.

Thus far might well have been formerly the Caſe, but as the impoſing Influence of finiſhed Works, could not then exiſt, it ſhould now (if we would ſet out under a juſt Parity of Circumſtances) be induſtriouſly obviated; yet as the totally avoiding it, would (if it were poſſible) be attended with much Trouble, the beſt Way would be to make of Neceſſity, Virtue, and in the Way of *Stimulus*, occaſionally to ſhew them

as

as a Reward to ſuch as had already contracted an approved Manner of their own; at the ſame Time pointing out ſuch Excellencies, as the young Proficients might be themſelves defective in, and not forgetting any Faults, which might encourage them to the Hopes of attaining to greater Excellence.

Their firſt regular Study ſhould however be guided by Rules founded on the antient Principle, with this only profitable Deviation from it, that every uſeful advantage ſhould be taken of the Experience and Perfection of former Ages, and the Pains and Difficulty of fixing Standards of what is maſterly and elegant, effectually ſaved.

In Conformity then to this Maxim, each Student ſhould be provided with a *perfect Limb*, caſt from the moſt finiſhed Statues extant, and its Character, whether of active Strength, or of Elegance and Delicacy, ſuited to the Turn of the Student, whoſe Taſte was to be formed upon it; they ſhould have beſides, each, a Set of Bones, well put together, for the Study of Oſteology, and as both Beauty and Figure are *intirely founded* on the Structure of the Bones, they ſhould be prepared from the

the beſt made Subject that could be got; in which, if the Head was unequal in Merit to the other Parts, one of a *proper Size* ſhould be procured, having, (as in the beſt Grecian Sculpture) the Eye-Sockets or Brows, *prominent*, particularly on the Temple-Sides, and *capacious*; it matters not how they were *filled* when living, the Forehead ſhould alſo be *high* and well *inclined*; when the ſolid Parts are great and *ſquare*, they may be filled and covered at the Will of the Artiſt; and as a Proof of what Importance a ſtrict Obſervance of this Ground-Work may be, it was ſolely to *that*, with a cloſe Attention to the pleaſing Paſſions, that the in imitable Corregio owed his great Reputation, for he was evidently but little verſed in academical Drawing: It is to this Defect, that though extremely induſtrious to a very advanced Age, * I ſhould attribute his having left behind him ſo inconſiderable a Number of finiſhed Pictures; he had certainly a nice and difficult Eye, and I ſuppoſe ſuch exquiſite Senſibility himſelf, as not to be ſatisfied with copying the Feelings that Nature commonly expreſſes; he would exceed them, and his

* Vaſari however aſſerts that he died under forty.

Want

Want of Knowledge of the Muſcles, on which all Expreſſion muſt depend, might in that caſe well occaſion ſuch endleſs Retouches, as both protracted the Work, and dried, and thickened the Maſs of Colours, to a Degree that even required his Thumb to ſpread them, in ſome of his beſt Preformances.

I will now follow my Subject, without excuſing a Digreſſion, which when on the Actions of ſuch a Man, can never be thought foreign to it.

The Study of the Muſcles ſhould on the Contrary, be made from continually varied Subjects, the homelier the better, if they were *truely* and *ſtrongly marked*, that the Stile of the Pupil might have no Chance of forming itſelf on the conſtrained and uncooth Attitudes of a Porter.

In order to the ſpeedy and effectual Attainment of this Knowledge, it ſhould be the conſtant Leſſon, even of Beginners, after having copied the exact oppoſite Sides of a human Figure, in the ſame continued Poſture, a *third* and *fourth* Time, to fill the Out-line *(which is the ſame in both)* with the Muſcles of the contrary Side, it would at once confirm their Memory.

mory, and their Judgment, as either muſt in this Caſe reciprocally help the other; the more advanced Students, ſhould fill and ſhade the *Contour*, from their Knowledge alone, unaſſiſted by the Recollection of a preceding Copy; the utmoſt that ſhould be allowed in this Leſſon, ſhould be the Bones, which ſhould indeed accompany every Leſſon.

Caſts ſhould alſo be taken from ſtrong Subjects carefully *flay'd* in a lax, a tenſe, and a middle Poſition, for ſtudying the Contexture of the Muſcles, at the Angles of their Immerſion: Likewiſe, a well injected Subject ſhould be carefully prepared, with a View to explaining their Origin and Inſertion; they ſhould alſo be taught to transfer the Expreſſion of an ordinary Countenance, that had much of it, to that of an unanimated Beauty; in all their Works, they ſhould keep in View the Stile of their *Fragment*, and when arrived at Perfection and Truth, in what is called Deſign, which with the Diſpoſitions that were premiſed (thus cultivated) they would very ſhortly be, with both Entertainment and Eaſe to themſelves, competitionary Taſks ſhould be given them, in which the Story, or Act alone

ſhould

ſhould be aſcertained, the Drawing, or the Model firſt made, then the Picture, or Statue, and two Prizes given, the far greateſt for Compoſition, which ſhould include Gracefulneſs, Diſtinctneſs, *Keeping* as it is called, or true Perſpective, and Accord, or Harmony of Colours. The ſecond Prize for Expreſſion, and both, to him who excels in each; as to good Drawing, it is implied, or they could not be admitted as Candidates; the ſame Rule ſhould take place in Statuary, omitting in the firſt Prize a View to what can relate only to Painting.

The Laws of Perſpective, and the reading Tranſlations from Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Plutarch's Lives, and the Mythology, of the Heathens, ſhould employ their Candle-light and Leiſure Hours; furniſhed with academical Knowledge of this Kind, which ſhould terminate their Apprenticeſhip, when compleated, *however early*, there would be little Danger of their deigning to imitate even a Policletus; it is far more probable that they ſhould aſpire to the excelling all who had hitherto preceded them.

To explain what conſtitutes Grace and Elegance, is, by Words alone, I confeſs, ſomewhat

ſomewhat difficult; the Models in order to the doing it effectually ſhould be preſent; yet as I have already gone much further into this Inquiry than I at firſt intended, I will try at leaſt to fix ſome leading Maxims towards the conveying an Idea of it, by mere oral Explanation.

If Gracefulneſs were not intrinſically meritorious, but a mere *Feather in the Cap of Youth*, (for I ſhall endeavour to found this too on Reaſon) it could never have been ſo univerſally applauded; let us conclude it then to have its *real* Advantages, and to what can they be more juſtly annexed, than to an exact *Propriety of Action*, which if at the ſame Time ſo *habitual* as to mark no conſtrained Attention to its Obſervance, is true Elegance; its ſeeming the Reſult of innate Direction, is what ſtamps a genuine Nobleneſs upon it, in Oppoſition to *that*, aukwardly contracted from Imitation, which, as it implies an original Want of it, ſo it is eaſily diſcoverable by a partial, occaſional, forced Diſplay, and a preciſe Repetition of it; for, as Habit has in moſt Men, cauſed ſuch a Predilection for one Hand, as even to term it the Right, to the actual Prejudice of the other,

whoſe

whoſe very Strength, as well as Addreſs, is impaired by it, ſo it fares with the Muſcles in general; if they have not from his Infancy been *properly* exerciſed, they are throughout the whole Man, in the ſame Predicament with the left Hand: Obſerve for Inſtance but a Clown, he invariably moves the whole Limb, for what required only its Extremity, the *Fiſt* for the Fingers, which have commonly loſt even the Power of Extenſion, and are become nearly ſimilar to, and as uſeleſs as the Toes; he is in Danger every Step, for the Foot is ſure to be the laſt in a Line perpendicular to the Burthen it ſhould ſupport; he loſes half his Vigour and his Height, by an ill-judged Laxity from the Ancle to the Neck: The Part above his Knee, and what ſhould be the Small of his Leg, is loaded with Muſcles, that for want of bracing, have never taken a tendonous Form; he does all Things with equal Force, his Spoon is *graſped* as his Pitch-fork; in ſhort, he is become from his ſlovenly Carriage, ſo totally oppreſſed with continued Laſſitude, that if he but ſeat himſelf, you tremble for the Chair into which he abandons his unweildly Maſs.

This is, you will ſay, an Image of Sloth indeed! allowed, it is that of the loweſt human State; but grant too, that though endleſs the Degrees, the nearer any Man approaches to this, the greater will be his Difficulty in contracting Habits of Elegance; and, that if a thorough Boor, could be at *Man's Eſtate*, at once inſpired with a true *Conception* of every Requiſite to the Attainment of Propriety, his very training of the Muſcles to an Obedience of his Will, would be like teaching to the Left, the *Right Hand's Cunning*, which when effected, would ever claſh with the Appearance of Limbs, no longer, perhaps, reducible to graceful Form.

From this negative View, ſome Idea may be conceived of what Grace and Elegance would be; King Charles could find it even in Things inanimate: Let us, though not ſtrictly in Point, for Curioſity, examine by the above Principle, thoſe which he is ſaid to have called the three nobleſt Objects. The firſt is a perfect Horſe, and in Truth, can there be imagined a Form and Action more graceful, and better calculated to its End, than what is ſeen

in

in that uſeful Animal? The Woman, which he ſuppoſes great with Child, is probably indebted for his Preference, to the having been *gradually* compelled (by an imperceptible Attention to her State) to make every Movement to Advantage. Thirdly, the Ship, under full and ſwelling Sail, though ſhe proclaims every Power effectually employed, yet with what ſuperior and becoming Eaſe ſhe glides along. Whether their Appearance was what alone conſtituted their pre-eminent Merit in the King's Opinion, or that it was founded, (though leſs in Character) on a Proſpect of the future Benefit each might be productive of, or the joint Reſult of Reflection upon both, I will not pretend to determine, but we muſt at leaſt confeſs, that they are all three ſtrongly marked with an apparently unconſtrained *Propriety of Action*.

If we conſider the beſt Grecian Sculpture, whether Statues or Figures in Relief, we ſhall find the Form of their reſpective Limbs to be ſuch, as implies their having been exerciſed from their Infancy, with a View to the Character repreſented, and conſequently, that the Attitude they are placed in, far from being

uneaſy

uneaſy, was what Habit of itſelf invited the Muſcles to aſſume, which, it is well known to Anatomiſts, *impreſs their Forms upon the very Bones*, in ſtrong and active Men. Their Orators, and other erect Figures are uſually repreſented as in Motion, which they juſtly expreſs by an almoſt ſtrait Knee, in the advanced ſupporting Limb; the other, in nearly a Line behind it, is bent and raiſed upon the Toe, in Readineſs to be brought forward: In thoſe ſuppoſed ſtanding in a fixed Poſition, the hind Knee is nearly ſtrait, ſuſtaining almoſt the whole Weight, the foremoſt ſomewhat bent, the Toe *moderately* turned out, and at ſome *lateral* Diſtance from the other, but very little before it; could any Poſtures more diſtinctly anſwer the Intention, the firſt would be uneaſy, were any Thing beſides Motion meant; the ſecond is at once the moſt firm, advantageous, and unaffected.

As both theſe Attitudes (the Propriety of which will ſcarcely be diſputed) muſt imply a neceſſary Contraſt in the lower Limbs, they muſt likewiſe equally affect the Body, and by Conſent of Parts, influence the upper Ones; for if the Weight is for Steadineſs and Conve-

nience

nience, chiefly repoſed on one Leg, it will be found eligible in moſt Actions to uſe the contrary Arm, as the freeſt, becauſe on the Side moſt at reſt; and at any Rate, (if we wiſh them to appear unconſtrained) to vary the Action of both; parallel Lines, then, we ſee, and Regularity of Action, are as unapt and uneaſy, as they appear unpictoreſque and inelegant.

FINIS.

First Printed in 1771.

A

TRANSLATION

OF THE

FIFTH CANTO

OF

DANTE'S INFERNO,

AND OF

THE ENTIRE SCENE AND NARRATIVE

OF

HUGOLINO.

DANTE's Poem of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiſo, is, certainly *Poetry*: and, though written at ſo early and uncultivated a Period as that of the thirteenth Century, is equal to any Thing that could reaſonably be expected from ſo grating a Subject, even at the beſt Times of modern Literature.

It is, however, upon the Whole, a painful Undertaking to read it regularly through: for, independent of the manifold Repetition, and unintereſting or extravagant Variation of the ſame nauſeous Deſcriptions; the principal Object of its Merit, at the Time it was written, conſiſted in the Satire, aimed againſt the ſurviving Reputation of ſuch of his Enemies as were departed during the buſieſt Period of the Author's Life, which, conſidering too the gothic Language it is written in, has, by a Lapſe of Five Hundred Years, almoſt precluded any juſt Claim to its preſent Power of amuſing, if its Reader be not a meer Antiquarian.

I except, however, the following Canto, and the conſummately pathetic Narration of Hugolino, with, perhaps, Half a Dozen more ſhort Paſſages; and it is for the above Reaſons, that this Canto only, and the Hugolino, are attempted.

The firſt is compriſed in a conſiſtent *enſemble*, and, beſides the little Novel of Franceſca (the moſt elegant in the whole Piece) it conveys a ſufficient Idea of Dante's Management throughout the Poem. The Hugolino is unique in its Kind.

As it was totally indifferent to me, in what Metre I wrote, being, literally, my firſt Attempt at any Poetry whatever, I choſe that of Blank Verſe, in meer Oppoſition to Doctor Samuel Johnſon's having aſſerted (in ill-judged Contempt of it, I preſume) that no one would ever dream of writing in it, who could poſſibly write in Rhymes. Though, had he *candidly* conſidered Milton's Allegro, his Penſeroſo, and his Licidas, he would, probably, have been more cautious, than to have pronounced ſo haſty a Sentence.—Should the following

Tranſlation

Tranſlation be deemed, even, tolerable, it would, I think, *as a firſt Eſſay*, be no inconſiderable Proof of the Raſhneſs of Johnſon's Aſſertion. And, in Truth, I rather believe, with Milton, in his *firſt* prefatory Defence of the Metre of his Paradiſe Loſt, that the Reverſe of the Propoſition, as there ſtated, is the Fact.

H. C. J.

Sept. 13, 1794.

THE FIFTH CANTO
OF
DANTE'S INFERNO,

In which Virgil is ſuppoſed to accompany him, as Myſtagogue, down to the different Cloiſters allotted to the reſpective Delinquencys of the Damned. The *firſt* Region being for ſuch only as had no other Fault than that of having lived before the Æra of Chriſtianity, the deſpotic Miniſtry of Minos was 'till this Canto unneceſſary.

FROM Hell's firſt dreary Manſion, to the next,
We now deſcended: leſs, but fuller far
Of pungent Woes: for, at its Entrance ſat,
Ruthleſſly grinning a contemptuous Smile,
Inexorable* Minos, dooming right:
For, ſuch th' impoſing Terror of his Brow,

* I have purpoſely omitted the quaint Idea of his manifeſting the Degree of Depth that the Delinquents were reſpectively condemned to, by the Number of Turns, with which he, at every Sentence paſſed upon them, entwined his own Body with his tail; being rather ſhocked to think that ſo elegant a Poet ſhould have ſo wantonly given him One, and of ſuch enormous Length as to go ſo many Times round him. Milton has, however, borrowed it, as he has the Word *grinning*, though I grant he has applied the latter nobly. I could not here avoid it, conſiſtently with my Intention of adopting Dante's Phraſeology, where ever I could.

That, ſelf-convicted the Delinquents yield,
Confeſs their Errors, and obey the Doom.

At Sight of us, Minos, his awfull Taſk
Suſpending, thus alarm'd mi'affrighted Senſe.

Advent'rous Stranger, wide tho' th' Entrance be,
Yet, thy Return conſider well, and well
Thy Guide examine: to whom Virgil, thus,
Retorts th' inſulting Caution: Churliſh Judge,
Thy Aid we aſk not, for, the mighty Power
Who our exploring March deigns to direct,
Not thee alone, but, Fate itſelf controles:
Onward we paſs in thy Deſpite: and now,
The doleful and deſpairing Notes begin,
From every Quarter, to aſſail our Ear,
Re-eccho'd through the dark and diſmal Chaſm,
Tho' often loſt in the diſtracting Burſt
Of adverſe Winds, likeſt the raging Sea,

Th' infernal and relentleſs Hurricane
Ordain'd the Scourge of thoſe, who, deaf to Reas'n,
Indulge in vicious Senſuality;
From Bound to Bound, in all Directions, hurls
The

The ſuff'ring Ghoſts, each againſt other daſh't,
Themſelves, and their Creator's Ordinance,
Still execrating; and as on they paſs,
The Track of their inflammatory Sighs,
Ev'n as the Veſſels* Wake tinges the Air.

Now, of my Guide, Intelligence I aſk
Of this diſtracted Throng: She thou behold'ſt,
Thus gloomy, here, thus void of Dignity!
A far-fam'd Conqueror was, Aſſyria's Queen,
He ſaid, and Heroine, till ſo plung'd in Vice,
And Senſuality, her Will alone,
With her, was Law, Semiramis her Name.
Dido the next, of Carthage hapleſs Queen;
Then am'rous Cleopatra Egypt's Queen,
The adult'rous Helen, cauſe of endleſs Ills,
Paris, Achilles, Triſtan, Thouſands more
Victims of vicious Love he pointed out.

* I truſt, the Analogy will be allowed, though not in Dante, as likewiſe the having aſcribed the Track itſelf (which, I confeſs, is there only by very equivocal Suggeſtion) to the raging Heat of a Condition ſo agitated in every Senſe. I have, as nearly as our Idiom would permit, in all other Parts, kept to the Original, excepting the Omiſſion of ſome few, that I thought injurious to the Poem, which is longer by thirty-five Lines than my Tranſlation.

Two 'mong'ſt the Reſt, inſeparably link't,
And elegant in Form mi'Attention fix't.

Fain with that intereſting Pair, O Poet,
Some Words I wou'd exchange; thou, he replied,
When near they paſs, ſolicit Intercourſe,
And with Effect ſolicit, by the Charm
Of that indiſſoluble Love they ſhew.

On their Approach, ye gentle Shades, I cried,
If None forbid, with a congenial Mind,
Deign Conference awhile: the friendly Lure
Succeeds, and, ev'n as Doves to the lov'd Neſt,
With ſteady Wing, obey great Nature's Call;
So, through the troubled Air, from Dido's Band,
The lightſom Pair advance: O gracious Being,
The Faireſt then began, that through theſe Realms
Dreary and dark, benignly viſit'ſt thus,
Delinquent Shades, Victims of hapleſs Love;
Were but the God of Nature ſtill our Friend,
Thy Peace and Happineſs ſhou'd be our Prayer,
Since for our Mis'ry thou can'ſt feel a Pang.

Where

Where Po with Ocean joins, the Seat is plac't
That gave me Birth, rear'd and reſpected there
I long remain'd, nor deſtitute of Charms,
Since Love, th' Incendiary of gentle Minds,
Inflam'd his gen'rous Heart with mine, but Oh!
Atrocious Fate, offenſive ev'n to Thought,
Love ſoon betray'd us to a ſhameful Death,
Yet, Love ſtill cheriſhing the mutual Flame,
Combin'd us ſo, our Souls you ſee are one:
What more, thou woud'ſt, impart, avail thyſelf
Of this ſhort Intermiſſion of the Storm.
She paus'd, but I, in Contemplation wrapp't
Of their hard Lot, with Head reclining ſtood:
'Till, by my Leader aſk't what were my Thoughts,
What? but the ſweet Ideas, boundleſs Love
That to their Ruin charm'd this luckleſs Pair.

Then to the Fair One turning, ah! Franceſca*!
Thy cruel Fate, wou'd the chaſte Eye of Saints Beguile

* She was Daughter to Guido da Polenta, Lord of Ravenna, the Friend and Patron of Dante, during his Exile, and originally betrothed to Paulo Malateſta, an amiable young Man, Brother to Lanciotto, joint Lord of Rimini with his Father; which Lanciotto,

Beguile of Pity's Tear; but, tell me true,
What wrought the Criſis? what the Agony
Deciſive of your Paſſion; here ſhe anſwer'd:

Nothing ſo grieves the ſuſceptible Mind
As Thoughts on Pleaſure paſt, midſt preſent Pain;
And that, your Guide has laſtingly expreſs't;
But, ſince, the Circumſtance determinate
Of my unhappy Paſſion, much you ſeem
Anxious to hear, thus weeping I relate.

ciotto ſhe was (in Breach of her prior Contract with his elegant younger Brother) compelled to marry, although deformed in his Perſon, and brutal in his Diſpoſition, as too manifeſtly appears, by his having ſavagely ſlay'n, with his own Hand, his lovely Wife and Brother, for a Fault, which he had himſelf, virtually, committed by his intereſted and tyrannical Enforcement of their Breach of Contract.

This melancholy Event, in which Dante was nearly intereſted, from the Protection given him, to the laſt, by the Father of the Lady (who was the moſt beautiful Woman of her Time), ſeems to be recorded by him, with the ſole View of illuſtrating by actual, and then recent Example, the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in private; and ſtill more ſo, where there already exiſts an Inclination between the Parties, as in the preſent Inſtance.—It happened about the End of the thirteenth Century, for Dante himſelf died about 1322, and, under the hoſpitable Roof of the above Nobleman.

One

One fatal Day, Amuſement all our Aim,
Alone, and unſuſpecting, the ſweet Tale
Of love enthralled, Launcelot was our Theme:
Oft' by his Suff'rings, were our Tears enforc't,
Our Countenance impaſſion'd, and inflam'd,
Yet, one ſole Period, truely was the Cauſe
Of our Defeat: the Smile, the heav'nly Smile!
Of the long lov'd Genevra, when we read;
Kiſs't by her glorious Lover: he, from whom
Not Death itſelf cou'd part me, tremblingly
My trembling Lips impreſs't, with a like Kiſs.
Pander! the Book, Pander its Writer was:
That Day we read no more.

The Reader is now to ſuppoſe, that he has laboured through, nearly, thirty-two Cantos of the Inferno, with the ſecret Hiſtory of its delinquent Inhabitants, and the reſpective Modes of Puniſhment allotted to the ſeveral Cloiſters they were condemned to: many of them, whimſical and ludicrous in the extreme: not to mention the low Wit and puerile Tricks, of the miniſterial Underlins employed in them: not quite ſo miſappropriated tho' as Milton's: who has probably here borrowed it. And, that he is now arrived near the End of the laſt Canto but two, that of the *frozen Region*, where he will be highly gratified for his Trouble, by the tranſcendently fine and pathetic Narration of Hugolino's earthly Sufferings and condign Vengeance on Ruggiero, Arch-Biſhop of Piſa, who had ſo wantonly been *his* living Tormentor.—I ſay tranſcendently fine, for ſuch, it truely is in the Original.

THE

THE NARRATIVE
OF
COUNT HUGOLINO,

Taken from the End of DANTE's 32d Canto of INFERNO, and the greater Part of the 33d Canto, and here united ſo as to form one conſiſtent *Enſemble*.

TWO, in a Pit of Ice, we, now, beheld,
Grappled ſo cloſe, that, to the under Head,
One ſeem'd a Cov'ring, but, on nearer View,
Greedy Devourer prov'd, of th' others Fleſh.

Ev'n ſo, death-ſmitten Tydeus, vengefully,
His Teeth infix't on the yet bleeding Brow
Of Theban Menalippus; ſeeking thence,
Atrocious Conſolation! O, thou Brute,
I cried, who thus, thy ſtill unſated Wrath
Beaſtily ſhew'ſt, explain, if Words can do't,
What Provocation adequate to this
Was giv'n; for, cou'd I think ſuch Vengeance juſt,
On my return to Earth, thy Injuries,
To all, I'd manifeſt. His gorey Mouth,
From the raw Neck, he rais'd, and with the Hair
O'th mangl'd Head, wiping it, thus replied.

The

The Terms thou profer'ſt, tempt me to renew
Paſt Miſery, but, if this Traitor's Shame
It tends t'eternallize, 'tis amply paid.
I know thee not, but, by thy Dialect,
A Florentine thou ſeem'ſt, thy Neighbour I,
Th' unhappy Hugolin: Roger, Arch-Biſhop,
Arch-Fiend of Cruelty, the Wretch you ſee.

In him confiding, Liberty I loſt,
And with it, Life of courſe, for him thou know'ſt:
The Manner tho', th' heart-rending Manner! yet,
Through Shame conceal'd, perchance thou haſt not heard.

I'th' diſmal Dungeon, which from my hard Doom,
Henceforth the Tow'r of Famine ſhall be nam'd,
Through a ſmall Cleft, the morning Light appear'd,
When, from a Dream, that my impending Woes,
Portentouſly, unveil'd, ſudden I 'woke.
The Hour of hungry Expectation, now,
Approaching; my dear Boys, with me entrapt,

Their

Their ſcanty Meal ſolicit, and announce,
Of ſharpeſt Anguiſh, the firſt boding Pang,
By their own Dreams ſuggeſted; Bread, they cry,
But, in its Place, alas! horrible Sound,
The grating Locks I hear, barring Acceſs
To th' outer, gloomy Entrance of the Tow'r.

Too plainly, in my alter'd Countenance,
My Body fix't and motionleſs, appear
The Agony of ſuff'ring Indignation,
With deſperate Reſignation mix't: they weep,
Poor Innocents! my Senſes, petrified,
Knew no Relief, but in Diſpair; at length,
My ſweet Anſelmo cries, what Looks are thoſe!
What ails my alter'd Father? ſtill I ſat
With tearleſs Eye and ſilent, all the Day,
And all the livelong Night; the next Day's Sun
Appearing through the Cleft, my own ſad Looks
Repeated in each haggard Countenance,
With Horror now I ſee: and angrily,
By meer Diſtraction mov'd, both Hands I bite:
My deareſt Children, by th' Appearance ſtruck,
Thus feelingly addreſs their tortur'd Sire.

If, the ungovernable want of Food
Urges that deſperate Act, behold us fix't,

The

The leſſer Ill to chuſe, theſe hapleſs Limbs,
From thee, with Fleſh were cloth'd, to thee again
Our miſerable Subſtance we reſign.

Effectually! thus quieted, that whole Day
And all the next, not to awaken Griefs,
We ſilent ſat, the fourth, my Gaddo ſcreems,
Father aſſiſt me; Dying at my Feet!
I'th fifth Day and the ſixth, my other three
Remaining Children ſeparately drop't,
Full in my View: for yet I kept my Sight.
It fail'd at length, and faintly reeling down
O'er their cold Bodies, ſtill their Names I call'd
For three, long, racking Days: Inanity,
Than ev'n my Griefs more potent, Grief, at length
Ended. He now, moſt like a famiſh't Dog,
Sternly, his Meal reſum'd. O Piſa, Piſa!
Reproach of that harmonious Terret'ry
Where you exiſt unpuniſh't. Hugolin
Suppoſe a Traitor; what Delinquency?
Cou'd the poor Boys involve in his hard Fate:
O Piſa, Piſa! opprobrious Piſa.

Beſides uniting the End of one Canto with the beginning of another, ſo as to make one little *Enſemble*, I have taken the

Liberty to omit the Dream alluded to, and of Courſe, the Perſons mentioned in it: as the firſt did but anticipate the Cataſtrophe, and the laſt, as meer Aſſiſtants, are now totally unintereſting.—I likewiſe thought it as well to leave out Dante's Invocation to the Mountains *Capraia* and *Gorgona*, wiſhing that they would change their Situation, ſtop the Current of the Arno, and form a Dyke round Piſa, ſo as to drown all its Inhabitants, ſince their Neighbours were ſo negligent in puniſhing their Cruelty. The reſt of the Scene and Narration, is at leaſt, faithfully tranſlated, but, reduced by theſe Omiſſions, to twenty-ſix Lines leſs than the Original.

FINIS.

OBSERVATIONS
On the ADVANTAGES attending an ELEVATED and DRY SITUATION.

I FIND it to have been the general Practice of our Anceſtors, (if we except a few old Caſtles, and thoſe moſtly on the Banks of Rivers) to fix their Country-houſes in Vallies; of the two Reaſons commonly aſſigned for it, one is, that of avoiding bleak Winds; the other is, plentifully to avail themſelves of the Benefit of Water: As to the Firſt, I am by no Means clear that the collected Direction Guſts of Wind acquire, in their Courſe along Bottoms, is not more violent and dangerous, than its more equal, though conſtant Effects on an Eminence; but I am at all Events ſure, that the Advantages in Point of Health and Proſpect, are greatly in Favour of the higher Land. In Anſwer to the Second, I ſay that, however neceſſary Water may be, thoſe who are ſituated in Vales, are not only ſubject to the Inconvenience of its occaſional Encroachments, and of conſtant

Damps; but have likewiſe that of its being, for the moſt Part, turbid.

It is urged, that thoſe who build on Hills, have, after being at a great Expence in ſinking Wells, ſtill the conſtant Tax of daily Labour remaining, to raiſe Water from an immenſe Depth, which when done, is generally ſubject to be what is called *hard* and unfit for many houſhold Uſes.

It is amazing that not one of our Engliſh Travellers (at leaſt that I know of) ſhould have yet, among their many Luxuries, adopted the ingenious Contrivance of the Venetians, whoſe Houſes, though built upon Piles, in the midſt of the Sea (which literally waſhes them) are better ſupplied with freſh Water, and of a better Quality, than thoſe of almoſt any Town I have elſe met with; nor will it, I believe be wondered at, when I have ſet down their ſenſible Method of ſecuring it.

Beſides public Wells, of which there are many in that City, each Houſe, if not very uncommonly poor, has one *at leaſt*, in either its Court-yard, or its *Landing-room*; the Figure of that Part of it, which is under-ground, is ſimilar to an Egg, with its ſmall End downwards,

wards, which not only facilitates the cleaning it when neceſſary, but enables them to draw even the laſt Gallon of Water; the Stones it is built with, are cemented together with Terras Mortar, to prevent the Percolation of the Sea-water, and if porous, plaiſtered with it; its Capacity is proportioned to the Size and Occaſions of the Family; the Top is cloſed with an Arch, ſtill obſerving the *Egg Form*, but at its broad End, all to a circular Opening of about Three Feet Diameter, which is *capped* with an ornamented Stone, about three Feet high, hollowed within, for the Convenience of drawing Water, ſerving likewiſe to *key* the Arch, and as it is well fitted on, with the ſame Mortar, Nothing can drop or be ſwept in; thoſe who are over nice, cover the Top, in order to exclude even the *pure* Rain or Snow; in any Country but Venice a Covering might be *really* neceſſary to keep out *Leaves*; ſince the Communication of any Vegetable would ſoon animate, and when thoſe Animals died, corrupt the Water.

Thus far it may be ſaid in every Thing but its Form, to reſemble a common Rain-ciſtern, which indeed it would not much ſurpaſs did it

not differ in the Manner of ſupplying it, which, as it at once purifies the Water and prevents its corrupting (unleſs by the above accidental Means) conſtitutes its whole Merit; between the Well then, I have deſcribed, and a ſmall underground Ciſtern, that *firſt* receives the Water, as it comes in Pipes from the Houſe-tops, is a covered Drain or Channel, the longer the better, filled with different looſe Beds, *one before the other*, of Sand, Gravel, Chalk, and ſuch other Foſſils, as ſhall filter, cleanſe, and impregnate the Water paſſing through it, in a Manner nearly analogous to natural ſoft Springs (from which the Hint was probably taken) ſo that each Family may have Water at Command, of the preciſe Kind they beſt like, by examining the Soil leading to any Spring that pleaſes their Taſte, and if they chuſe it, even tranſporting, to that End, ſome of the very Earth it runs through; they might even have Calibeats, or any other Waters they wiſhed for in ſeparate Wells, though ſupplied by the ſame Rain Pipes.

Now that I am on the Subject of high Situations, I cannot omit deſcribing a Species of ſubterraneous Granery, which I have often won-

wondered ſhould be peculiar to the Town of Piſa in Tuſcany, where *only* I have obſerved them; (altho' they were certainly in Uſe on the African Continent as long back as Cæſar's Time, and are clearly deſcribed by that great and accurate Obſerver;) they might, I think, be uſed with ſtill greater Convenience upon Eminences, and the more ſo in this Country, for after the ordinary Method we build them in, beſides the Room they occupy, they have rather an uncouth Appearance near an elegantly diſpoſed Villa, whereas upon the Piſan Plan, they may be on the Plot before the Houſe, without being even perceived, not to mention their obvious Advantages in garriſoned Towns.

They are built with common Brick, in the exact Form, as far as is Under-ground, of the Venetian Wells, the only Differences being in the Top, which is carried up only within ſix Inches of the Surface of the Earth, a round Hoop of Stone, about twenty Inches in Diameter, *keys the Arch*; to this a Cover is exactly fitted, with a Ring to draw it up by, and if neceſſary, a Bar and Padlock, then the Earth and Turf laid over it as if Nothing was there;

when it is to be *ſtored*, the Turf is cut up as thick as can be, to prevent its fading, the Stone ſwept and removed, and a Man let down, who beginning at the Bottom, coils a thick Rope of Hay, Straw, or Ruſhes, *Bee-hive Faſhion*, to the Top, which Lining effectually keeps out the Damps, as may eaſily be conceived, ſince the Magazines at Piſa are cloſe to the River Arno, and below its Bed: I cannot however affirm that they are not built with Terras Mortar (which if ſo, would even here be no great Expence) though I believe they are not: it need ſcarcely be added, that by the ſame Aperture, a Man let down with a Buſhel, ſends up what Quantity of Corn is wanted, the Whole being ſhot in looſe: There are in the above City, I ſuppoſe, Forty of them, in about Half an Acre of Ground, each in general Twelve or Fourteen Feet Diameter in the wideſt Part, the uſual Proportion of the Egg, will mark its Height.

Another Convenience attending a high Situation, is what mere Accident once pointed out to me; *beneath* the *Cellar* of a * Houſe I hap-

* The Houſe *was* that of the famous Salvator Roſa at Rome, and is ſtill ſo of his Deſcendants.

pened

pened to inhabit, a ſubterraneous Vault was diſcovered, and as it was of antient Structure, and both elegant and ſubſtantial, a little Pair of winding Stairs being adapted to it, it became an under Story to the Cellar; the firſt was cold as ordinary Cellars are, but the ſecond was many Degrees more ſo than any Ice-houſe I ever ſaw; and I was from that Moment convinced, that an *Under-Cellar*, would, for the cooling of Wines, for making Ices, (which when prepared ſhould be carried down to it,) and for keeping Ice the Summer through, be a moſt commodious and cheap Addition to any Houſe, where the Springs did not riſe too high to prevent its taking place; it has the Advantage of needing no double Doors, nor any of thoſe troubleſome Precautions neceſſary in common Ice-houſes; it beſides ſerves many Purpoſes, it is at Home, and is *not in Sight*.

CON-

CONSIDERATIONS
On the DESTRUCTIVE APPLICATION of GOLD.

BY what we can collect from the Teſtimony of antient Authors, there is the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe that Gold was at leaſt as plenty in thoſe early Times, as it appears to be in our own Days; were the ſame aſſerted of Lead, Copper, Iron, or any other Metals, ſo many Ways liable to waſte, it would be leſs ſurprizing; but that One, neither ſubject to the deſtructive Effects of Ruſt, nor diminiſhable by even repeated Fuſion, and whoſe univerſally acknowledged Value, might be alone ſuppoſed to preſerve it, ſhould not in ſo many Centuries have accumulated in Proportion to the Quantity annually found in different Parts of the World, is, I think, a Matter well worth inquiring into.

The antient Practice (though it at firſt Sight ſeems to announce Extravagance) of plating, and even forming, entirely of Gold, whatever they intended ſhould appear ſuch,

proves

proves on a nearer View, as much their Wiſdom, and Economy, as it ſhews real Grandeur, ſuch as cannot be commodiouſly *aped* by every Pretender to it; and I am perſuaded that it is ſolely to the modern Cuſtom of beating it to its utmoſt Degree of Dilatation, in order to the gilding Wood, Paper, Stucco, and other periſhable Materials (from which ſcarcely any One, I believe, when worn out, ever thought of extracting it) that we muſt attribute its preſent relative Scarcity.

It would be a curious Inquiry, how much of this precious Metal is (in England, France, Italy, and other Countries equally fond of outward Show,) annually *thus* hammered to its Deſtruction. I ſuſpect that it would even in this Kingdom amount to a Quantity, worthy the Interpoſition of the Legiſlature, and the more ſo, as it muſt, neceſſarily (as the Exiſtence of Luxury) renew the antient ſubſtantial Method of applying it, which would be no other than laying up Treaſures, that might in Times of real Need, be reckoned on as Bullion; its Ductility alſo is ſuch, as ſeems to beſpeak the uſing of it in Plates, ſince it is the only valuable Metal, capable of receiving, even when

when of a conſiderable Thickneſs, the moſt elegant, and finiſhed Moulding.

This naturally calls up, (though I believe it has already been judiciouſly cenſured by a moſt eminent Philoſopher and Hiſtorian) that very impolitic Tax upon Plate: How much more beneficial had it been, if, inſtead of annexing a Penalty to the Uſe of it in groſs, we could (like our Neighbours of France, and Italy, whoſe Populace are in other Reſpects incomparably poorer) encourage our Peaſants to the procuring each, at leaſt, a few Forks and Spoons; as ſuch a Proviſion would be in Times of private Want, a ſure Reſource; ſo in thoſe of public Calamity, what a Fund might not be ſuddenly raiſed from it, with ſuch Security of advantageous Reſtitution, as would make it to be given up, even with Pleaſure. The Time may come, when it would be a Happineſs for this Nation, if the Scores of Millions that a little Paper is now anſwerable for, could be one hundredth Part ſo much depended on.

Silver is ſo plenty at Paris, that I can affirm the never having dealt at an Eating-houſe, though in different Quarters of the City, who could not, if required, ſerve me in Plate; the ſame

ſame may with Truth be ſaid of the Coffee-houſes, even in the Provinces. In Italy, the better Sort of Peaſants, (beſides Forks and Spoons, which are common to all) have large Bodkins, of an Ounce or two Weight, on which the Women's braided Hair is rolled, as in the antient Buſts, and often large Gold Chains, of two Yards long, going round the Neck and Waiſt.

In this Country, I fear the Wedding Ring (which I am told is often applied to by the Poor, and redeemed on the Saturday) is the only, Dépendence in caſe of Sickneſs, continued Froſts, and other occaſional Cauſes of Diſtreſs; and yet, how much more eaſy would it be to the Peaſants of England, had but Cuſtom given a Sanction to the Practice, for every Couple to purchaſe *on their Marriage*, a few plain, maſſive, uſeful *Convertibles*, which Habit would ſoon render equally ſacred with the Ring, and a Depoſit, never to be applied to, but in Times of real Neceſſity, and with a ſteady View to the replacing it. Uſe would ſoon annex ſuch a Degree of Shame, to a wanton Diſpoſal of this little Treaſure, that the Week's Earnings, which are now too often

ſpent

ſpent in Drunkenneſs and Riot, would (as at firſt for its Purchaſe) be then laid up to redeem it, when a prudent Pledge of it, might poſſibly have ſaved an induſtrious poor Family from Deſpair and Ruin.

A

FREE ENQUIRY

INTO THE

ENORMOUS INCREASE

OF

ATTORNIES,

WITH SOME

SERIOUS REFLECTIONS ON THE ABUSE OF OUR EXCELLENT LAWS:

BY AN UNFEIGNED ADMIRER OF GENUINE BRITISH JURISPRUDENCE.

AND

A POSTSCRIPT,

IN WHICH THE

REFORM OF OUR PARLIAMENTARY CONSTITUENCY

IS AGAIN CONSIDERED,

BY THE ORIGINAL PROPOSER OF THAT INTERESTING MEASURE.

TO

JOHN SAWBRIDGE, Eſq.

SIR,

A PLAIN-SAILING Man like you, is as much above the flimſy Cant of falſe Compliment, as I am myſelf an Enemy to it. Can it then, be out of Character, to addreſs the following Sheets, to a tried and hearty Patriot, in the familiar Phraſe, of our boiſterous Myrmidons of the Britiſh Navy? Were I to call you, the only virtuous and ſteady Man in theſe extenſive Dominions, your honeſt Heart, judging more candidly of the Republic, would be juſtly offended, both at the cenſorious Suppoſition, and at my abſurdly labouring for ſo very loſt a People, as that Idea would imply.

I will therefore content myſelf with barely ſaying, that, from the long and ſteady Services of Mr. SAWBRIDGE in promoting the public Welfare, it may without Flattery be concluded, there is no worthier.

I have the Honour to be,

With the moſt perfect Conſideration,

SIR,

Your very Obedient Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

A FREE ENQUIRY, &c. &c. &c.

IT has been long the boaſted Pride of Britons, to be governed ſolely by Laws of their own framing, but if that Pride has much abated, ſince they have been brought to reflect, that not one ſixth Part of their fellow Countrymen, has been conſulted in the Election of their legiſlative Body: what indeed, muſt be their Humiliation! when they are told, however inconſiſtent it may appear with the liberal Spirit and unimpeached good Senſe of the Engliſh Nation; that it is yet evident, from the unremitting Tenor of hiſtorical Facts, that it has continued by ſome ſtrange Fatality, even from the obſcure Times of its Druid Thraldom, ever under the Influence of ſome oppreſſive *Incubus*.—It was for many Centuries prior to our firſt William's Invaſion, Conqueſt-ridden. Very ſoon after that famous Period, it was ſtill more heavily Prieſt-ridden. Under the Tudor Family, it was moſt egregiouſly Tyrant-ridden.

For a ſhort Space, it was pretty roughly ridden by Fanatics—and I am ſorry to obſerve that its preſent Inhabitants, have but too long groaned, under the ruthleſs Laſh and the oppreſſive Load of Lawyers.

Should I be accuſed of cynically likening this Lawyer-ridden Country, to a mere Beaſt of Burthen, I can only ſay that I am myſelf, unhappily involved, in the ridiculous Inference; being in no Degree connected with any of its preſent numerous Riders; and in Atonement for having ſuggeſted the reproachful Idea, I will, by giving the Alarm to my oppreſſed Countrymen, put them on their Guard; truſting that a due Attention to their own faded Dignity, will after that, rouſe them to the moſt earneſt Efforts, and inſpire them with ſufficient Vigor, manfully to ſhake off this odious Burthen.

I would willingly, however, be thought unprejudiced on this Occaſion, that is, ſo far from harbouring a hoſtile Wiſh, againſt the genuine, plain, eſſential Laws of this Land of Liberty, that I cannot heſitate to think the Man who does ſo, is either Idiot, or Enemy determined to all Society.

The

The Object of my Enmity, is not the Law, it is the wretched, quibbling, proſtituted Habits of its Practiſers, the expenſive Grievance of its Formalities,—the Inſolence and Roguery of its *Profeſſors*, when they impudently reject fair Senſe, unleſs delivered in the technical obſolete Jargon of a *Special-pleader*. The affected Zeal, but callous Indifference with which a hungry prowling Advocate, newly hired by a litigious Villain (like a blood-thirſty Brabançon gaping for Plunder, and eager to enliſt on *any* Side) deems himſelf venally bound, even for a paltry Guinea, without the Merit of perſonal Riſque; not only to brow-beat and intimidate an honeſt Witneſs, but baſely to avail himſelf of a mere unguarded * Informality, which ſhall yet! defraud a worthy Family of its Right, and effect its Ruin. Theſe deſtructive Nuiſances, each of which I have unequi-

* As our *common Law* is now practiſed, the *equitable Merits*, ſcarcely form an Object of Conſideration; the Proſpect of a Flaw or *Informality* is all your Attorney or Counſel have in View: and indeed, all that can render the Suit precarious. They are ſo ſenſible of this, that where they happen to be Men of Reputation, they will, previous to Trial, frankly and confidently adviſe their Client, either to deſiſt, or to purſue; conformably to any accidental Diſcovery of Informality; or Certainty of Preciſion in the preparatory Proceſs on either Side.

vocally experienced, and others without Number, which I know exiſt: added to the inſupportable Charge of a juſt, though for theſe Reaſons *only*, a * precarious Suit: theſe, I ſay, are what every honeſt Man muſt of Force join with me to reprobate, and what all Lovers of their Country, ſhould unite with one Heart, radically to extirpate.

I would commence this Augean Taſk, with the inferior Claſs of theſe devouring Locuſts; for *their* unlimitted Exiſtence, neceſſarily involves that of a proportional Body of Counſel: let any Man then reflect with Temper if he can, on the many Thouſands of licenſed and practiſing Attornies, now actually preying on the Vitals of their Country. And that, in bare-faced Evaſion and Defiance, of repeated

* Two glaring Ones have lately happened: In the firſt, the Proſecutor Ferguſon (with an, apparently, clear Caſe) was nonſuited, becauſe his Attorney had omitted (in a Notice, one Month previous to the Tryal of a *Magiſtrate*, and overlooked, even by the Lord Chief Juſtice) to *date* that *Notice* from his Reſidence in Eſſex Street; tho' ſeveral Letters, *ſo dated*, had previouſly been written to the Defendent.—In the other, a Payment of a very conſiderable Sum into Court, was *invalidated*, by the Omiſſion of a fractional Farthing!!! I yet honor and reſpect Lord Kenyon, who, I think, tried both Cauſes, in February, 1798.

Statutes

Statutes for their Limitation. Their Number, incluſive of their Counſel, is, I think, computed at *twenty-four Thouſand:* ſo that rating the yearly Gain of each, at the low Average of one hundred and thirty Pounds; not to reckon the Miſchiefs they create, and the Loſs of their real Services to the Community: their annual Drain upon this diſtreſſed Country, conſiderably exceeds the enormous Sum of THREE MILLION STERLING! Is not this ſerious?

Can there be a more palpable Proof, either of their Multitude, or of the wide-ſpread Miſchiefs it has occaſioned, than the oppreſſive Expedient that Men of Opulence are reduced to; that of retaining, in Imitation of the firſt Tudor, each, an Empſon or a Dudley; in the Beginning, probably, for Self-defence, againſt the petty-fogging Tribe? But too ſoon influenced by the rapacious Suggeſtions of thoſe ſubtle Guardians of their Property, they unwarily expoſed their Tenants (for their own temporary Benefit, and that the Means of plundering them, might be *excluſively* repoſed in one Perſon) to be racked and ſcrewed up, at his mercileſs Diſcretion. And the princely

Fortunes

Fortunes rapidly realized by theſe Peſts of Society, ſufficiently proclaim the iniquitous Profits of their Stewardſhip.

Lawyers, it is urged, if you have Laws, are neceſſary to enforce them. Allowed, ſo in that Caſe are Hangmen, ſo is the Gallows.—And would you therefore multiply them, like Lawyers, at leaſt *fifty fold* upon the Face of your Country? Would you therefore aſſociate the one into your Houſhold? Or adorn your Parks with the other?

But independent of this Reaſoning, the Ravage of Attornies, is too widely and ſeverely felt, not to be pretty generally acknowledged. Let us now examine, if the Proportion of Counſellors, implied by this peſtiferous Swarm, is not virtually a more dangerous, although a leſs oſtenſible Evil.

Setting aſide the Study of Juriſprudence, it is impoſſible to read, and not admire the Commentaries of the late *Sir William Blackſtone:* even ſhould we conſider their Author, in the Light of a mere ſpeculative Antiquarian, giving us an accurate Hiſtory of our Country's Laws; uſefully and agreeably interſperſed with moral and profeſſional Obſervations as they occur; marking

marking at once their Progreſs, and ingeniouſly connecting their Encreaſe and their Improvement, with that of Civilization, of Arts, of Science, and of Trade, out of which, they regularly grew.

After paying this well earned Tribute, to an excellent Writer, whom I could not but introduce, for the exemplary Elucidation of what I would wiſh to inculcate; I will beg Leave to tranſcribe a Paſſage from the celebrated *Junius:* in which, his Conduct as a Senator and a Counſellor, is placed in glaring Oppoſition to his Writings. Theſe are his Words. "The "Doctor recollected that he had a *Place* to "preſerve, though he forgot that he had a "Character to loſe, we have now the good "Fortune to know the Doctor's *Principles*, "as well as his Writings. For the Defence "of Truth, of Law, and of Reaſon, the Doc-"tor's Book may ſafely be conſulted, but, "whoever wiſhes, to cheat a Neighbour of "his Eſtate, or to rob a Country of its Rights, "need make no ſcruple of conſulting the Doc-"tor himſelf."

But, to proceed with *Sir William Blackſtone*, who (notwithſtanding the Juſtice of this ſevere Cenſure

Cenſure has been *ſince*, loudly confirmed by Parliament, in the Reverſal of its own Sentence on the Middleſex Election) was yet, ſurely, as honeſt and candid as the Generality of his Profeſſion; I cannot join, even his Writings in approving the Practice, of ſo frequently introducing Counſel into the Senate: that is, in theſe enlightened Times: for I readily admit that, in thoſe early Days, when our martial though unlettered Sovereigns were themſelves reduced to ratify or atteſt a public Act by the mere Signature or Impreſſion of their *Mark* (and in ominous Compliment to the impending Power of the Clergy, that Mark was, as it has ſince continued, *a Croſs*) in thoſe Days I ſay, of Eccleſiaſtical Chancellorſhip, Lay Lawyers, might with ſafety, nay, with Advantage have been conſulted.

It is the uniform Opinion of the ableſt Writers upon Government, that to conſtitute an equitable and laſting One; the Parties charged with the important Truſt of *framing* Laws, and thoſe who have the *(lucrative)* Power of their *Execution*; ſhould, for the moſt obvious Reaſons be, totally unconnected and independent of each other. How far the

Engliſh

Engliſh Nation has, of late, acted in conformity to this wiſe Maxim, I may, without begging the Queſtion, ſafely leave to be decided by any one, that will look over the Liſt, of both our Houſes of Parliament. Adverting in particular, not only to that Profeſſion, but, to thoſe Diſpoſitions and *Qualifications*, that have latterly, *rather often* led to Peerage.

Cuſtom, in one of our ancient Adages, (which, however trite and familiar, are in general little ſhort of oracular) is juſtly ſaid to be, a ſecond Nature. Its literal Senſe, I conſign to the Criticiſm of Logicians, but the Idea it is intended to convey, is, clearly, ſomewhat more than true; nay even Faſhion, her younger, mimic Siſter, has, in but few years Exertion of her Power, manifeſtly extinguiſhed, even our national, natural Character. But, ſhould the Recollection of more manly Times, be unhappily obliterated by the preſent diſſipated Scene; or, ſhould the Over-confident, ſtill diſpute the contagious Prevalence of Cuſtom and Example: if their Arrogance place them not, above a Solon or Ariſtides, let them, but for a Moment revert to the Annals of Ancient Greece; and, the opprobrious Triumph

umph of faſhionable Vice, over the Wiſe, the Virtuous and the Valiant, nay over *Nature itſelf!* cannot fail to ſhock them, into the moſt humiliating Conviction.

With ſuch manifeſted Pronèneſs, and ſuch imitative Aptitudes to Depravity, is there any Degree of it, that may not juſtly be apprehended in our Senates? from the rife Contagion of numerous Members; rankly tainted with the inveterate Habits of a Profeſſion, which, to blazon it in the energetic Words of *Junius*, "is ſupported, *by the indiſcriminate* "*Defence of Right and Wrong.*" And for the Truth and Accuracy of this Deſcription, I willingly appeal, to the almoſt endleſs Catalogue of Cauſes, that have heretofore been tried in our Courts of Judicature. Wherein one Side, tho' *ſurely wrong*, yet as ſurely found an Attorney to maintain, and an Advocate to defend it: who had probably, well examined, at leaſt his Client's Pretenſions: which mere Accident, that is, the proſtituted Principles of his Profeſſion, made it neceſſary for him to torture (not his callous Conſcience,) but his venal Faculties in the Defence of.—Will any One be hardy enough to aſſert the Probability

of

of Men ſo abandoned, ſuddenly laying aſide ſuch rooted Habits?

But I ſhould be myſelf unjuſt, if, believing a poſſible Remedy to exiſt, I were capable of ſuppreſſing any Argument, that might give Hopes of leading to it. Let us conſider, then, if ſuch Remedy may not be fairly deduced from the rude, but acknowledged Practice of ancient Times; when the Defence of Cauſes (and they might ſtill be, *legally* ſo defended) frequently took place, by *Battle*. It is ſufficiently notorious, that the Champions were, *in that Caſe*, on both Sides *ſworn*, and that, with every affecting Solemnity, to their ſincere Belief in the Equity of their Clients Title: on which, as they were immediately proceeding, to the Hazard of Life and Reputation, we are fully juſtified in ſuppoſing, they confidently relied. I would now aſk, if any ſpecious Reaſon can be aſſigned, why, a modern * Champion, that is, an honeſt Advocate, ſhould not, by an enforced Parity of Reaſoning, equally be compelled to teſtify by Oath, his *unequivocal Belief*,

* Where they in general actuated by the enlightened Probity, and noble Principles of an Erſkine, or indeed, by any liberal One, this Obſervation had been unneceſſary.

not

not only of the legal, but of the *equitable* Title of his Client, e'er he be permitted to plead in a Defence, for which he is manifeſtly *hired*, and in which, no bodily Riſque can poſſibly be incurred, whoſe Dread, might in the other Caſe, have alone ſecured his Sincerity. Does the unimpeached Integrity of our modern Counſel, render the Oath ſuperfluous? or, are we ſcrupulouſly tender of a Lawyer's Conſcience? There can, I think, be no other Impediment to the Revival of a Practice, which either did, or ſhould, in Reaſon, have ſubſiſted, equally in either Caſe. Not to mention the Example of our Judges, on the Opening of their Commiſſion at Aſſize.

The previous Oath, if we, ſeriouſly, mean the Extinction of pernicious Habits ſhould, in the fulleſt, and moſt ſolemn Senſe be adminiſtered, on the Defence of every individual Cauſe: and by the Introduction of a ſubſequent * *Deſideratum*, his Mind would be fully qualified

* The uniting *Equity and Common Law*, by Declarations, and Examination of the *Parties* on both Sides *upon Oath* previous to final Trial, in all but *criminal Cauſes*. It may often be the Means of puniſhing an intended Fraud, through the corrupt Sides of Perjury, (which is, I think, far from being an Objection to it)

qualified to take it. But an evident Breach of his Oath, by palpable quibbling, ſhould be ſubject to exemplary Fines. By a rigorous Proſecution of this Meaſure, the Frequency of wanton and knaviſh Litigation, would (probably) ſoon ſubſide; and, even the reduced Number of Attornies, *directed by the Statute of our firſt Edward*, would be amply ſufficient for a Kingdom, *then*, tending at leaſt to Happineſs.

The Science of the Law, beſides its mere *Routine*, and a ready Knowledge of the Statutes, appears evidently to conſiſt in a Species of *recorded Caſuiſtry*, couched in, and to be collected from, the innumerable Awards and Decrees of former Judges, even from the remoteſt Periods of Engliſh Juriſprudence.—And theſe, however diſcordant, they *muſt* often be, from the diſtinct Intereſt, from the Prejudices, and from the foreign Dependence of eccleſiaſtical Judges. Yet, in their Aggregate, conſtitute what is with ſuch venerable Myſtery termed, the *Common Law*. Tho', if it were not a Kind of Hereſy to hazard ſuch

it) and can involve neither Injuſtice, Hardſhip, or Inconvenience, *criminal Proſecutions*, being exempted from this Rule.

an Opinion; I ſhould, I candidly confeſs, rather annex that ſacred Appellation; not *vaguely* to all Law, that is not poſitively *Statute*, leaſt, from the probably numerous Inconſiſtences in theſe Records, its ſolid Eſtimation might be endangered. But, to the *real, immutable*, glorious *Palladium of Britiſh Liberty*, to our Juries, and to their uncontroled or even uninfluenced *Right*, to return, on every poſſible Occaſion a * GENERAL VERDICT. After that patriot Point, to ſuch preſcriptive Rules only, as relate ſolely and immediately, to the Subſiſtence, the Security, the *Reſources*, and the public Convenience, both of the Kingdom at large, and of its Inhabitants, *when conſidered*, in their reſpective Relations and Degrees. From the minuteſt Infringement of ſuch Parts of our *Common Law*, as *ſteadily*, relate to theſe eſſential Benefits, *let every ſacrilegious Hand, abſtain!* I would *here*, applaud the manly Sentence.

* If the ineſtimable Privilege of Engliſh Juries, is not merely Ideal, they may very conſiſtently acquieſce in every Proof of the Facts alledged, yet, if thoſe Facts *in their Opinion*, involve no Guilt, they are clearly bound by their Oath, and juſtified by the Spirit of our *Common Law, in the ſame Breath*, loudly to pronounce their Peer NOT GUILTY.

The

The above Deciſions, however, abſtracted in the famous *Year-Books and Reports*, are what our Counſel quote as Precedents, and if not preciſely in Point *(altho' their Latitude is evidently pretty extenſive)* they are, by the Aid of Impudence and Analogy, wreſted and tortured, until they fit their Client's Purpoſe.—But, for their Reputation, it is upon *the whole* highly reſpectable: even, if barely conſidered, as a Compilation of hiſtorical Veſtiges of Britiſh Juriſprudence. Or, as it may afford, ſpecific Rules, for the Protection and Encouragement of ſuch Privileges, Trade, or Property, as may be, *to this Day*, accounted, immediately beneficial to the Community. Thus far, their Authority and Eſtimation, continue unimpeached.

For the enormous Body of our Counſel; I will only ſay; ſuch Infinity of Candidates, ſuch Efforts, and recompenſed with ſuch Rewards! cannot, I confeſs, but be often productive of Abilities. Though it may well be doubted, if the ingenious Defence of a juſt, but intricate Cauſe, is not more than ballanced, in the Cunning it is attacked with, by Chicanery, Evaſion, and expenſive Delays, under

the ſpecious Maſk, of legal Forms, and (often ruinous) Caution. It is likewiſe to be doubted, if the final Deciſion of common Cauſes, in a limitted Time, from the bare Teſtimony of Witneſſes upon Oath, together with a *general, intelligible*, and brief Expoſition *upon Oath*, of the Facts and Allegations on both Sides, in Oppoſition to technical Language, and the *joining Iſſue* on perhaps a *ſingle* Point of *Law*, without Reference to the general Merits, it may, I ſay, well be doubted, if under ſuch a Statement, a Jury of Neighbours, ſomewhat on the Plan of Alfred's *Hundred Courts*, with a Chairman of plain Senſe, properly authorized by Legiſlature, would not in general decide, with an * unbiaſſed Truth and Preciſion, worthy of being confirmed in the Courts above.

What is here propoſed, cannot preclude the Opulent, from Application to the Judges appointed by their Sovereign; who are indiſputably the only proper Ones to decide in Mat-

* Unbiaſſed by the venal Pleadings of Barriſters, who, under theſe Regulations would be uſeleſs: when, from mutual Declarations and Examination of the Parties *upon Oath*, added the corroborating Teſtimony of Witneſſes, the Jury would be too fully informed, either to need their perverted Explanations, or to be miſled by their Sophiſtry.

ters

ters of real Importance, and where the Iſſue might be ſuppoſed to bear ſome Proportion, to the Charges of a Suit in theſe expenſive Courts. But, in *common Cauſes* this is ſo very far from being the Caſe, that I ſhould, I think, be juſtified in affirming, that there is at this Hour, more than a Hundred Thouſand Pounds due to Attornies, by Debtors actually in Cuſtody for Sums, which were originally, in *themſelves*, very inconſiderable.—And that a very *ſerious Number* of uſeful Subjects are detained in Priſon, to their own irrevocable Ruin, in *every Senſe*, and to the manifeſt Detriment of the Community; almoſt entirely, on this reproachful Account.

Were conſtitutional, monthly Trials revived, at *County Courts*, as anciently eſtabliſhed; and their Competency extended *Cæteris paribus* to the Equivalent of what they were competent to, at the Time of their *firſt* Eſtabliſhment, we ſhould be far nearer the Inſtitutions of the great and good *Alfred* and to the real Spirit of our *Common Law*. But there is another Article, well worthy of our moſt ſerious Enquiry: how happens it, that Criminal Proſecutions, where even Life, the greateſt poſſible Stake is

at Iſſue, ſhould, after the mere Commitment of a Juſtice of Peace, and the haſty Ceremony of finding the Bill, be, as they notoriouſly are, begun and ended in the rapid Courſe, of but few Hours, and with *comparatively*, no Expence, while the Proſecution of ſo very inconſiderable a Stake, as five Pounds, is, as notoriouſly attended with *at leaſt* Fifty Pounds Expence, to the loſing Party. The Reaſons alas! are obvious, but I defy any Man to aſſign a good One, why the Proceſs for ſmall Debts, ſhould not be to the Full as ſummary and unexpenſive as that for Life? Would our Legiſlature enforce its being ſo, it might, even conſtitutionally, be accompliſhed, by the *general* Revival of *County Courts*, and by eſtabliſhing their Competency to Trials of *Thirty Pounds*; which, the comparative Value of Money, and other concurring Circumſtances, would well warrant, leaving thoſe to the amount of Five Pounds to the Deciſion of *Neighbour Juries*. But, the Bane of all liberal Commerce, is the odious Diſcrimination between *Equity, and Common Law* to the entire Diſgrace of the Latter, and but too often to the Ruin, of the honeſt, open minded Individual: while it

ſecures

ſecures invariable Succeſs and Impunity, to the cautious, cunning, and often knaviſh Churl.

It may be an intereſting Queſtion to conſider, if our Legiſlature has not been at all Times too much influenced by the intereſted Counſel of our Law Sages; and, if it has not, too long, ſuffered that to be divided, which, unſophiſticated Reaſon, actuated by the genuine Spirit of our Conſtitution, would liberally have conducted, *Hand in Hand.* For, it appears evident, to my Underſtanding, that, with timely and explicit Declarations, and, with * Exami-

* Our Courts of Equity, *with this eſſential Power* (by which they are *now* excluſively diſtinguiſhed) either are, or, are *not* conſtitutional, if the Latter, they ſhould be totally aboliſhed. But, if they are conſtitutional, which, I believe, ſcarcely admits a Doubt; the obvious Advantages this Power gives them over all other Courts of Judicature, for the effectual Inveſtigation of legal Facts, evidently entitles every Britiſh Subject to requeſt the uniting ſo beneficial a Power, with the *Common Law*, in all but *Criminal Cauſes.* That favourite and venerable Law, would thus acquire the only Requiſite it ſeems deficient in. And, Trials in Equity, would receive on their Part, that *final Sanction*, which every Briton believes to be his Birth-right, and which, beſides adding to their Popularity, would ſurely ſtrengthen any *Decree:* THE CONCURRING VERDICT, OF AN ENGLISH JURY; which, no Chancellor, however conſcious of his *own* Rectitude, or tenacious of his Prerogative, could in Reaſon, wiſh to withhold.

nation of *Parties upon Oath*, previous to final Trial, after hearing Witneſſes, and attending to the *general Merit* (on which *only* ſubſtantial Juſtice, and the eſſential Value of Juries can depend) it ſeems, I ſay, impoſſible but, with a recapitulatory Charge from *whoever preſides*, twelve honeſt Britons upon Oath, ſitting in Judgment upon their Peer, ſhould be fully competent to, *at once a legal and an equitable Deciſion*.—A *Deſideratum* ſomewhat to this Effect, is rather hinted at by Sir William Blackſtone, in his excellent Commentaries.

I ſpeak here to *Common Cauſes*, not to the complicated Diſcuſſion of *Tenures*, with their Conveyance and Inheritance; whoſe Intricacies often puzzle the moſt learned of the Profeſſion; and will continue to do ſo, while they are held and ſupported by Principles, which ſhould have ſhared the Fate of thoſe Feudal Cuſtoms that gave riſe to them. But, in the preſent Mode of trying the moſt ordinary Cauſes; a ſingle Point of Law, on which the honeſt Attornies have, as they term it, *at length* joined Iſſue (and which, beſides the *expenſive Grimace* that precedes it, makes *them*, eventually the Triers of the Cauſe) is, *what only*,

Juries are requeſted to decide upon; and what, a cunning Plaintiff, is generally ſure of proving. But, ſhould your Counſel be directed to alledge, the *compulſive Neceſſity* of the Tranſaction at Iſſue, or even the moſt evidently implied *Defeaſance*, it has Nothing, he will ſay, to do with the preſent Trial at *Common Law*, you muſt obtain a new One (in Equity) although the Loſſes, already ſuſtained in this, have diſabled you for ſupporting either the Charges or the Delays of it. Whereas, if an intelligent Jury, had been as fully informed of the *equitable Merits, by general Declarations and Examination of the Parties upon Oath*, as of the merely legal Facts, eſtabliſhed by Witneſs, and its final Deciſion demanded *upon the Whole*, it would have been qualified ſo to ſteer, between Equity, and an unguarded, or conſtrained Act, as, by a *general Verdict*, confidently to pronounce *ſubſtantial Juſtice*. On the other Hand, a *new Trial* may be play to Lawyers, but it is Death to thoſe who pay them. So Æſop obſerved two thouſand Years ago.

Yet even theſe ſalutary Eſtabliſhments, would prove inadequate, effectually to remedy the *enormous Drain* above alluded to; unleſs

Attornies,

Attornies, who are both its Cauſe and Receptacle, be firſt reduced: and under ſevereſt Penalties limited, not poſitively to ſix *per* County; for, ſince our firſt Edward, and our ſixth Henry's Time, more, I readily admit, may have become neceſſary. But, can it be poſſible that in the Proportion of twelve *per* County, thoſe of York and Middleſex might not be fully ſupplied, by what our ſmaller Counties would gladly ſpare, from ſo very ample an Allowance: and I am willing, for the Credit of Humanity, to believe, that (with great Attention in ſelecting them) *even this Profeſſion* might (from ſo very extenſive a Body) afford Six Hundred Men, both of Intelligence and Probity. Theſe Regulations, with the total Abolition of that Reproach to a free Country, *Impriſonment for Debt*, would leave, even theſe comparatively few Attornies, Leiſure ſufficient for their own Concerns, and would at the ſame Time, better encourage and enable an encumbered Nation, to ſupport its really neceſſary Burthens with Content.

If, notwithſtanding the Arguments that I employed in a former Tract, to combat the pernicious Practice of Impriſonment for Debt, it

it ſhould be ſtill urged, that it is beneficial, and even neceſſary, to Commerce, though I am fully perſuaded, it is *eſſentially* ſo, to that *only* of Lawyers, there would yet, on this *Score* remain for our Conſideration, an Object of the moſt ſhameful Abuſe: and, which cannot but be highly offenſive in a free Country, where *legal* Impartiality and Equality, at leaſt, under given Circumſtances, may well be deemed the *ſine quâ non*, the very conſtituting Spirit of civil Liberty.

The Grievance I allude to, however apparently illegal, (for it conſiſts in a Diſcrimination, not merely invidious, but to the higheſt Degree oppreſſive) is yet derived from, and ſanctified by the Authority, of our very firſt Courts of Judicature. Though that Sanction, is, I will candidly ſuppoſe, groſsly abuſed by their Deputies. I mean, *in the firſt Inſtance*, the total Preclusion, throughout every other Part of England, of that important Privilege, which *many* Inhabitants of the King's-Bench and Fleet Priſons are indulged with, which, by giving ſome *Remiſſion* to their Confinement, at the ſame Time, much conduces to the Health, the Induſtry, and often to the Releaſe of many valuable

luable Subjects. I ſay many, for, even in theſe Priſons, the Power of diſpenſing, and of ſelecting Objects for the Enjoyment of this Privilege, is too much left to the Caprice, and intereſted Agency of the moſt improper Judges.

Admitting for the preſent, that Impriſonment for Debt, may be reconciled to the Theory of our Conſtitution and with our Ideas of Liberty, we will preſume, that as this Privilege was probably granted as a *Palliative* for the qualifying ſo very harſh a Remedy; and, that the Parties impriſoned, might appear to be ſo, merely and ſolely, for the Recovery of a juſt Debt; they were during *Term Times* (on proper Application, on the Payment of certain Fees, and after giving full and certain Security to their Keepers for their Return at Night) permitted by *a Rule of Court* every Day to be at Large, under Plea of employing that Time, for the Settlement of their Affairs.

The Uſe commonly made of this Indulgence, is foreign to our Purpoſe, nor would any Man of common Humanity wiſh it, in any Sort circumſcribed. But, it is likewiſe impoſſible that any Man judging with common

mon Equity, can think it juſt to with-hold this humane Privilege, from *whoever* in theſe Priſons, complies with the preſcribed Rules. Nor, upon the ſame Principle of Impartiality, ſhould any Individual in theſe Priſons, on Compliance with the *legally* required Terms, be, on any Pretence whatever, denied the Benefit *(in its fulleſt Senſe)* of what are there called, *the Rules of the Priſon*; that is, the Permiſſion conſtantly to reſide, and to exerciſe their Trade out of the Priſon, but, within the Limits of a preſcribed Diſtrict.

Yet is this, ſo very far from being univerſally the Caſe, that, the Keepers of theſe Priſons, or their Deputies, have been frequently known to extort Sums, even to the unconſcionable Amount of One Fourth of the whole Debt, for an Indulgence which has been (for no good Purpoſe) oſtenſibly committed to their ſole Diſcretion; and which, if, under the premiſed, and *juſtly* requiſite Security, and without *illegal* Fees, it was indiſcriminately extended to all that wiſhed it, and could comply with the Conditions, could be attended with no poſſible Inconvenience, and would ſave

Hundreds

Hundreds from periſhing, and Thouſands from drunken Diſſipation, and in the End, total Ruin.

If this partial Diſtribution of Benefits, which ſhould, in theſe Priſons, indiſputably be general, appears, as it muſt to every reflecting Mind, a heavy Grievance, by what adequate Term ſhall we expreſs the Injuſtice done to the Inhabitants of the remaining Gaols of this extenſive Kingdom, who, though born under the *ſame* Laws, ready to give the *ſame* Security, and *likewiſe* impriſoned only for Debt, yet are deſperately mixed, and in every Senſe, except the Hope, *ſome Way*, of ſpeedy Relief, confounded even with Felons, whoſe Offence *(if we may judge by its Puniſhment)* is deemed by our Legiſlature, *leſs* injurious to Society; for, the unhappy Debtor, may be, without *Remiſſion* confined, perhaps for Life, within the ſame hopeleſs Walls: unleſs by *Habeas Corpus* he is, at enormous Charges, removed to an expenſive, a diſtant (and perhaps to him) an unknown and friendleſs Part of the Kingdom. Is this Equity, is this Freedom; or does it any how conſiſt with the liberal Dictates of either?

For

For the abſolute Illegality of Impriſonment for Debt; I was ever too conſcious of the exceeding Intricacy of that important Queſtion, even *to think* of poſſitively affirming it. I am however perfectly convinced of its groſs Impolicy in Relation both to Morals and to Commerce, of its glaring *Inconſiſtency with many other civil Regulations*, and above all of its manifeſtly claſhing with the liberal Principles of *Magna Charta*, and with the free Spirit of our Conſtitution. But,—as it is at leaſt a very *dubious* Point, and as the above Privileges have by long Uſage proved, both their Utility and their Safety, what poſſible Argument can be be urged, even by the moſt Unfeeling, againſt the general Extenſion of them, upon Conditions as nearly ſimilar to, *what the above ſhould be*, as can be accommodated to the Diſtance and Situation of the reſpective Gaols? To doubt the Expediency of this Meaſure, would be unworthy of Engliſh Benevolence; to oppoſe it, little better than ſavage and unprofitable Tyranny.

Again! to check the Feelings of Humanity, and effectually to encourage brutal Ones! ſhall, either a benign Creditor, or One, who is for ſome

ſome Years unavoidably precluded from applying for his Debt be, by that involuntary Omiſſion or humane Indulgence, by Statutes of Limitation totally deprived of his due? whilſt, in *Contradiction to our natural Character*, a revengeful Churl ſhall be permitted, perhaps for Life, not only to triumph over his Fellow Subject's Liberty, but to be ſtill accumulating *Intereſt* upon his Debt. Which, even in Rigour, theſe Sufferings might, ſurely, diſcharge. *Such* cruel Abſurdities! muſt ever be the Conſequence of ſuch *Modes* of recovering a Debt.

I appeal to Reaſon, to Candor, to my Country, and to its Legiſlature, for the Truth and Cogency of theſe Arguments. For, it is an almoſt ſelf-evident Propoſition that, when the *real Repreſentatives* of a free Nation, conſtitute one great Branch of its Legiſlature *(if they are truly uninfluenced)* the Statutes that they enact, muſt, of neceſſary Conſequence, characteriſe the Diſpoſition of the People.—That, in their *Proceſs*, *many*, and, in *themſelves* ſome *few* Britiſh Statutes, certainly do not; theſe glaring Abuſes, and irreconcileable Partialities, but too clearly prove, and forcibly perſuade me, once again to urge, that thoſe who

who have the Execution of our Laws in Charge, are, on every Account and Conſideration, from their inveterate Habits, from the contingent Intereſt of their Places, in Juſtice, good Policy, and common Senſe, to the laſt Degree improper Perſons to be conſulted; and ſhould be as little as poſſible, any how concerned, in the moral and humane Buſineſs of their framing. Nor can they ever be expected to characteriſe the *Engliſh Nation*, unleſs they are the *uninfluenced Act*, of perfectly liberal and independent Men.

But ſtill more forcibly to illuſtrate, many of the preceding Obſervations, if we reflect upon the celebrated Anſwer of the Barons, in our third Henry's Parliament at Merton, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutare*, and contraſt its manly Steadineſs, with the pitiful Mummery, that was contrived ſome Centuries after that Period to diſguiſe, and *obliquely* do away, ſo many Parts of theſe reſpected Laws; could the Pencil of Detraction itſelf more accurately delineate, either the dawning Influence of Lawyers, or, their inherent, characteriſtic, *wanton* Propenſity to quibbling! inſtead of honeſtly and openly, adviſing the Abolition, of ſuch

Laws as were, (however ſanctified by Time,) no longer compatible with that *Transfer of landed Property*, which an Encreaſe of Science, Trade, and Riches, with many concurring Circumſtances, muſt of Neceſſity involve; they adopted the wretched Expedient, of *evading* theſe ſacred Rules! and that, by ſuch bungling, contemptible *Fictions*, ſuch warped Analogy, ſuch infantine *Make-believes!* as Boys three Years from their Nurſery, would recollect, and be aſhamed of! The Queſtion is not, if theſe *Fictions* were, *at any Rate*, productive of the Advantages required; but if they have not fixed a dangerous Precedent, againſt the poſſibly permanent Validity, of any Law that they would (without Conſent of the *entire* Legiſlature) wiſh to evade; and, if a diametrically oppoſite Procedure, a liberal, direct, unequivocal One, would not, inſtead of ſubjecting our Laws to Obloquy, have, (with the ſame Benefits to the Community) tranſmitted them to future Ages, with that unſullied Dignity, that ſhould be ever inſeparable from our Ideas of Britiſh Juriſprudence.

We might then in juſt Admiration of their Purity and conſummate Excellence! truly have

have exclaimed with Leibnitz, when, among the various Solutions to his famous Problem, he diſtinguiſhed the maſterly and comprehenſive Outline of a Newton—The others I confeſs have anſwered, but *here*, I manifeſtly view in every Part, *the ſteady Traces of the Lion's Paw.*

As Matters now ſtand; in lieu of this noble Exclamation, it is impoſſible for the graveſt Cenſure, to apply more pointedly to the lamentable Condition of the Britiſh Laws, than thoſe Lines, however ludicrous, which *Arioſto* puts into the Mouth of his mad *Orlando*, on the Subject of his Horſe that he is about to change; and which our elegant *Prior*, in his Alma, transfers to that of Harlequin: who, after furniſhing him out with every commendable Quality, frankly confeſſes,

> One Fault he had,—a Fau't, indeed!
> And what was that?—the Horſe was dead.

The virtual Death's Wound of our Laws, which are, in general, the Maſter-piece of human Wiſdom! is but to evidently inflicted, in their perverted and rapacious Proceſs. And I could quote *and prove* repeated Inſtances of its Plunders upon a ſingle Perſon, to the enormous

Amount of more than Twenty Thouſand Pound; not one of which, but would diſgrace the Juriſprudence of a Cadi of Bagdat, or Aleppo.—Apply for Redreſs, and you are again inſulted, with the Mockery of Reference to the ſame vitiated Formalities and extortionate Agents, that have already, well-night wrought your Ruin.—Will they reſtore the Loſſes that they have as iniquitouſly as demonſtrably occaſioned? or can they compenſate, for a conſequent Ten Years Privation of Liberty? When they *evaſively* aſcribe it to accidental and ſpecific Circumſtances, are we not juſtified in retorting? that, their boaſted Impartiality, their Juſtice, and their Equity, to quadrate with the Theory of our glorious Conſtitution, ſhould, to an honeſt and loyal Briton, be EQUALLY OBTAINABLE, IN EVERY POSSIBLE CIRCUMSTANCE OR SITUATION.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

THE Author of this little Tract, is by no Means vain enough to imagine that, to thoſe who have reflected as attentively, upon this important Subject as himſelf, he is likely to convey a ſingle new Idea. All I could expect to do for them, is, to have collected in one clear Point of View, many diſperſed and clouded Objects, which, when fairly expoſed to their Inſpection, may at the ſame Time be highly intereſting to every true Lover of Liberty: and that, I hope, comprehends little leſs than the whole Maſs of my Countrymen, altho' the keen Purſuit of Diſſipation, in an Age (rather cumberſomely) teeming with it, may poſſibly have diverted many of them, from any ſerious Reflections, upon the Security of *that only*, which *ſhould* give Zeſt to their Pleaſures, or *can* enſure Permanency to their Poſſeſſions.

As we, beſides, ſeem to be now exiſting at the very Criſis of an Æra, that breaths Nothing but Diſcovery and Reform, it will be,

ſurely, prudent to avail ourſelf of ſuch well diſpoſed Times, for the Attainment of *only important Objects*, leaſt through Delay, or like *Coriſca*, in the Fable, by trifling with our good Fortune, we may be in our Turn, left to regret the Tranſiency of ſo favourable a Period.

Should I have done no more for my fellow Countrymen, in this ſhort but zealous and well-meant Labour, I ſhall feel ſome Satiſfaction, in the having contributed at leaſt *my Share*, towards the Redreſs of real Grievances; an Example which, *if in his reſpective Way*, every Individual would reſolve peaceably and conſtitutionally to follow, there could be no Doubt of our Succeſs.

The *long neglected Plan*, that I had many Years ſince, the Happineſs of communicating to the Public, for the Reform of their Repreſentation, in the Common's Houſe of Parliament, far from damping the Ardor of my Hopes, upon the preſent Occaſion, rather flatters me with the pleaſing Proſpect, of their being *both* ſoon realized.—If the Bantling lay Eight Years dormant, and if even the Identity of its Parent, was in a Degree obliterated; it was at leaſt on its awaking cordially foſtered,

and

and its healthy Vigour, has been, from that Period ſo nobly nouriſhed; that, tho' barely Fourteen Years Old, I ſhould little doubt, from its preſent large Proportion, and conciliating Aſpect, but it will in due Time, ſecure its own Succeſs: and with that, the future Happineſs, and laſting Liberty of our Country.

There are, however, two *fundamental* Points, of which we cannot be too tenacious in our Purſuit of this important Event. Firſt, *the total Abolition of rotton Boroughs*; which indeed, was the *Sheet Anchor* of my original Plan: and tho' *Junius* founded his Objections to a Reform, chiefly on the Impoſſibility of aſcertaining "at what Point you muſt ſtop, "at what Point the Mortification ends,"—on Sight of my Propoſal for the *only* Expedient that can at once involve, both an *uninvidious and a radical Cure:* the Abolition of Conſtituency, * *alike in every Borough*; with a general Transfer of the Votes of every Individual, to

* London and Weſtminſter are in my ſecond Plan, rated as Counties; which their Importance and Population, well warrants. And *houſehold* Servants, being little affected by Taxes, and ſeldom permanent in *any* County, may *perhaps* be, while in that State, juſtly excuſed.

their reſpective Counties: who ſhould alone ſend Repreſentatives to Parliament, each in its *due* Proportion. On Sight, I ſay of this, he expreſſly gave us an Extract of his Letter to Mr. Wilkes; with the ſole View of *doing away* every Objection he had made *in it*, to a *Reform*, and of candidly acknowledging that "This Argument was fairly and compleatly "anſwered."—So much for thoſe, who diſingenuouſly or ignorantly *mutilate* the Letters of Junius, and *affect* to overlook *his own* pointed Remarks upon them.

For the ſecond *grand Point:* that of Univerſal Suffrage, tho' it was ever my *ultimate* Wiſh; I had not, I confeſs, *then* Confidence enough to propoſe it: *truſting*, that the main Object might be more eaſily obtained, and the Whole appear leſs viſionary; by keeping in ſome Sort, to the *Spirit* of our ancient Uſage; and fixing the Qualification for Conſtituency, to the Proprietorſhip of a Freehold of ſuch Extent, as might, *Three Centuries and Half ago*, have been rented for, *Two Pound Sterling*. A Lapſe of Fourteen Years, *has happily opened the Eyes of Men*; and for myſelf, I cannot be ſaid to have changed my *Opinion*, altho' I have

have gladly *altered my Plan*, to the more extenſive Purport of my *firſt ardent Wiſh*, and have two Years ſince, delivered it to the Public.

If we accept of a Reform, on leſs than theſe Conditions; we, in the *firſt Inſtance*, but botch and tamper with our Conſtitution, for a *precarious*, and at beſt a *trifling* Benefit. In the *Second*; we with-hold from our Fellow-ſubjects, that, which in *Equity*, is their due. For, by what Reaſon, or Rule, but that of Tyrants, hard Neceſſity! can you, from *unrepreſented Subjects*, extort obedience to your Laws?

* Mr. Pitt's third Motion for Reform, on the 18th of April, tho' it certainly proves his Sincerity, was, in truth, *mere Patch-work!* and (as Mr. Burke juſtly obſerved) by its ſtill varying from the Firſt and Second, cou'd be but a Prelude to a more compleat Plan.—It is aſtoniſhing that the Minds of Men of Senſe and Character ſhould be ſo totally barren of ſpecious Argument, as to have yet oppoſed Nothing to the juſt Claims of an oppreſſed and derided Nation, except the trite and pom-

* Theſe two Paragraphs and the next Note, are added ſince the Firſt Edition.

pous

pous Cautions againſt tampering with our *venerable Conſtitution*; and that they ſhould ſo wantonly trifle with the Reputation of Ingenuous, as uniformly to utter what they have, ſurely, more Senſe than to believe, and is calculated to impoſe, ſolely, on the eaſy Minds of the Undiſcerning, or to furniſh the dull Colour of a Plea for the venal *Negative* of the Intereſted.

That the Integrity of our Conſtitution cannot ſuffer by the Reform of its Parliamentary Conſtituency, the innumerable Changes this Branch of it has already undergone, ſufficiently evince: and as obviouſly impeach the Candor and baffle the Cogency of theſe threadbare Arguments.—The Fact evidently is, that while *Magna Charta* continues inviolate, and the great outline of King, Lords, and Commons, is preſerved, our Conſtitution, clearly, remains unaltered: and that, the two firſt being hereditary, it imports little by what *Proceſs* the Latter is delegated, ſo it be the *uninfluenced Act of the People*.—Let plain Senſe then, decide how that can be, while Borough Repreſentation is pertinaciouſly defended, and the Houſe of Commons almoſt annually garbled,

by

by the diſgraceful call of Borough-holders to Peerage.—On the other Hand, County Repreſentation and univerſal Suffrage would truely realize that ſteady pyramidal Emblem of perfect Government, ſo judiciouſly ſtated, and ſo juſtly applauded, by that enlightened Moraliſt and honeſt and able Stateſman Sir William Temple. Nay, even its taper Proportion (which is not without intrinſic Meaning) would, in this caſe, be leſs endangered by the Encreaſe of Peers.—If then, we ſincerely admire the Beauty, and venerate the Antiquity of this glorious Fabric, inſtead of foſtering and rewarding the Vermin that would undermine it, let us at once ſecure both its Permanency and Integrity, by ſo effectually extending the *broad Baſis* of the Pyramid, as to preclude the Want or even Poſſibility of future Innovation, and by its Volume and Solidity, for ever ſet Corruption at defiance.

But above all, when this important Matter is debated, let us avoid intrenching ourſelves upon untenable Ground.—I would found my Defence on *Equity alone*; can a better Plea than that of *Reaſon* be urged to an enlightened People? The *legal* Claim of univerſal Suffrage,

ſrage, will be, I fear, but too juſtly argued as incompatible with that unhappy State of *Villainage*, to which our lordly Conquerors had reduced us: and from which we were very far from having emerged in January 1265; when Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, (a wicked Inſtrument, and with Intentions, widely differing from the glorious Benefits, that it was followed by) *firſt* called the Commons of England to Parliamentary Conſtituency: the Plea of our ſixth Henry's Limitation Act, will be at beſt, but a *conteſted* Inference. To be ſucceſsful in our Debate, let us reaſon from what we *now* are, and what our *preſent* Weight, in the great Balance of Civil Policy, *fully entitles us to.* Not from the abject Condition, in which we were five Centuries ago: leaſt that Condition *alone*, involve unfavourable Concluſions.

Our Conſtitution, our Liberties, and our Laws, were not *(by Revelation)* imparted to us, *entire:* they gradually encreaſed with the Knowledge of ourſelves; and *that* with the Growth of our Importance. Our Rulers and Sub-Rulers, by Turns experienced their own Imbecility, if unaſſiſted by Vaſſals, who were

at

at length, juſtly diſſatisfied with that humiliating * State. The Latter, ſoon, by their Induſtry and adventurous Spirits, acquired Riches: they realized thoſe Riches, by the Grants and Alienations of the proud and idle. By Alliances and perſonal Merit, even Nobility

* The very higheſt of the Rank here alluded to, were but Sub-Vaſſals, that is, Tenants to the great Barons, and to every Holder in Capite from the Sovereign. The lower Kind, mere Dependents on the Proprietors, and even on the Occupiers of the Soil. The Commutation of Caſh or *Scutage* adopted by our firſt Plantagenet, in Lieu of Military Service, due by the Feudal Inſtitutions of the *Norman;* as it brought the Latter into diſuſe, evidently laid the firſt Foundation of Civil Liberty, and, eventually, of the Commons Houſe of Parliament: introduced, under a weak Grandſon of this great King, by the enterpriſing Leiceſter: as (probably) deeming it the only poſſible Check upon the mercenary *Brabançons*, procured and maintained with this Scutage. Which, by a truely deep Policy, at once awed the turbulent Barons, and diſpenſed with the Military Services they had thus unwarily compounded for.—The gallant and enlightened Edward, *ſome Years* after his Father's Death, ſtruck with the Popularity, the Reſources, and the extenſive Benefits of which Leiceſter's *neglected* Plan was clearly ſuſceptible, not only revived, but gave it permanent Exiſtence. And that auſpicious Equality which began to dawn upon our Nation on the Diſuſe of the Feudal Inſtitutions, neceſſarily tho' gradually wrought it into great Reſpect?—its full Meridian however, with that unimpeachable Authority and comprehenſive Dignity which muſt accompany a *Delegation by univerſal Suffrage* is I truſt happily reſerved for the preſent Æra.

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was *now* often obtained. The Diſcovery of the Compaſs, the Invention of Printing, the conſequent Promulgation of Science, and the Inundations of Wealth, from a New World *(which muſt of Force ultimately center with the Cultivators of Arts and Commerce)* cancelled (in leſs than a ſhort Century) all but, *Titular* Diſtinction.

From that auſpicious Period;—with our Equality, our Right in Equity commenced. Its Growth was rapid, and like that Ornament, and true *Emblem* of our Country, the well-rooted and far-ſpreading Oak, hardy Native of the ſame generous Soil. It is but ſtrengthened and confirmed, by the Storms and Revolutions of a ſecond Century.

If a Blot ſo palpable, was not hit 'till the Year 1769, nor the Plan formed on it, publiſhed, 'till two Year after: it is yet no Impeachment of its Exiſtence long before. I ſhall be the laſt Man ſuſpected of Rapaciouſneſs: yet, when the *Salus Reipublicæ* is concerned, I would, like *Hotſpur*, wrangle for a Straw. Let us not then, be lured, as *Eſau* was, *to fritter away our Birthright*; nor, be prematurely tempted, by an inſidious and artful

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Compromiſe, to accept one Atom leſs, than that which is our Due—THE TOTAL ABOLITION OF BOROUGH REPRESENTATIVES; AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

Upon this unequivocal and firm Foundation, *every Plan* muſt be good: and for my *own*, I am no further attached to it, than, till a better ſhall be ſuggeſted. Theſe are the Outlines of it; and, *that* publiſhed, early in * 1771,

* Had this Plan been adopted at the above Date, we had probably been *now*, on the moſt parental Terms with *America*; thoſe therefore, who ſo ſeverely reprobated Lord North's Conduct, ſhould recollect that, by leaving ſo many Boroughs at the Diſpoſal of a pernicious Miniſter, after the ſerious Warning which accompanied my Plan, and *that*, for eight *entire* Years; they were not quite blameleſs of the fatal Conſequences that attended their Neglect. I *then*, plainly foretold the *worſt*, though that, I truſt, may be yet averted. The preſent Miniſter well knows, I could ſay more, upon *that* Subject; but, not with *his* additional Members: *non tali Auxilio!* how indeed, in Times like theſe, can we be dreaming of *Patch-work*; or, how can any one, reflecting on the *barefaced Support* of Lord North's Miniſtry, be one Moment ſurprized at *his* ſteady Oppoſition to a *Reform*; he is but too ſure, *that no bad Miniſter could in that Caſe, be long employed*: and perhaps, not quite hopeleſs, of again returning to his Poſt. Is it poſſible that, knowing ſo ſure a Way, to prevent ſo great an Evil, we ſhould neglect it? Or, that the joint and *laborious Efforts* of Meſſrs. Fox and Pitt, leading, a *then* glorious Oppoſition, although at length victorious, ſhould be forgot.

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(full Eight Years prior to the Yorkſhire Meetings) differed from it, *only*, in limiting the Conſtituency (though with much Regret) to Freeholders, as above deſcribed. I have annexed a Copy of it at the End of this, with Junius's marked Approbation of it; and to ſhew that *he* was *no longer* inimical to the *Abolition* of rotten Boroughs, I have annexed his Extract from *his own* Letter to Mr. Wilkes.

1ſt. Every Individual Man in the Kingdom, to be, *annually*, regiſtered *as a Voter*; each in *one Pariſh only*. And, however extenſive his Property, to Poll for that County only, to which his Pariſh belongs, and at the Huſtings that Pariſh is annexed to.

2d. A Pariſh Officer, commonly reſident, to aſſiſt at Elections and identify his Conſtituents.

3d. The Candidates for each County, being declared a full Fortnight before, and the Day of *general* Election, *then* fixed, the *Whole* to be terminated in one Day, and every Member returned, as ſoon as the Poll can be caſt up.

4th. The Number of Huſtings to depend on that of *Pariſhes* in each County, who, having little

little Way to go, ſhould all, (as in Caſes of Jury or Inqueſt) be obliged to Poll diſtinctly for the full Number of Repreſentatives allotted their County, and no Election to be valid without an *actual* Poll.

5th. It being both juſt and conſtitutional, *that the Proprietors of the Soil*, ſhould be *ſtill*, diſtinguiſhed: every Freeholder of 30l. *per annum* (which I ſuppoſe analagous to Two Pound Sterling, in our ſixth Henry's Time) to be regiſtered at his County Town. *Their Prerogative* ſhould be, to approve and declare Candidates, and to decide impartially on their Qualifications, which, if *legal*, ſhould make them unexceptionable: and as a more ſolid Privilege for this *Rank*, a Power ſhould be veſted, in a Majority of the *complete Number* of it, in each County, to vacate the Seat, of any of their own Members, *if*, on or after the Acceptance of Place or Penſion, their Conduct was diſapproved. *Others* to be choſen as before. This (which I truſt, would ſeldom happen) would obviate the Inconvenience of *neceſſarily vacating*; and yet, more effectually bind the Repreſentative to his *Public Duty*. Since a Diſmiſſion in *the above Form*, would

both imply a *juſt* Cenſure, and preclude his Re-election during the ſame Parliament.

6th. The Proportion of Repreſentatives for each County, to be aſcertained by our Legiſlature, in joint Conformity to the Extent, Population, Riches, and commercial Importance of the ſpecific Counties. Due Attention being paid to thoſe, who, though chiefly reſident in the Capital, yet having their landed Property *elſewhere*, ſhould be *regiſtered* for their reſpective Counties. If, notwithſtanding the ſhort Proceſs of even a general Election, Room ſhould ſtill be left for falſe Votes, that is, *repeated* Ones; it ſhould be puniſhed as *Perjury*. Nor, ſhould *unregiſtered* Voters be admitted to Poll; for it is their own Fault, if, (by a Kind of negative Vagabondſhip) they are thus unrepreſented: every Man in the Nation ſhould Poll in his own Pariſh; the Officer *then*, knowing his Complement, and their Names, cannot well miſtake; although not acquainted with every *Perſon*. Huſtings of Courſe in every Pariſh.

This Poſtſcript has been many Years publiſhed, and our Circumſtances, as a People, having, even, recently, experienced a moſt melan-

melancholy Change, and *that* clearly through the Miſconduct of an abandoned Miniſtry availing itſelf of the Defects of our Parliamentary Conſtituency: the reprinting it, with ſome Obſervations upon Mr. Grey's Motion for *Reform*, on the 26th of May 1797, is but conſiſtent with that Duty I owe my Country, with the Regard I moſt ſincerely feel for its once glorious Conſtitution, and to the well intended Motion of a tryed and hearty Patriot.

When I perceived, on reading the Debate in next Day's Star, that we ſo widely differed in our Ideas of Parliamentary Conſtituency, and that his Plan was warmly ſeconded by the very reſpectable Concurrence of Meſſrs. Fox and Erſkine, it may be thought Arrogance in me to inſiſt on the *infallible* Advantages of *univerſal Suffrage:* yet, to ſtate what appear to me, manifeſt Advantages, both in outer Semblance, and in Reality, is ſurely, incumbent on me, if I do not, in the very Cryſis of this intereſting Queſtion, meanly ſhrink from the Support of what I had certainly not been haſty in adopting.

For the *apparent* Equity of the Meaſure, we need but advert to the unfeeling Horrors!

of a late *prelatical* Sentiment, too harſh and too dogmatical to be eaſily forgotten by a Free-People—" What have they to do with Laws? but to obey them" ! ! ! and tho' I *cou'd* be perſwaded by the Diſcernment and Eloquence of the above Gentlemen, that *univerſal Suffrage* were, in *Practice*, leſs calculated to produce that genuine Repreſentation which can alone conſtitute an *incorruptible and powerful Houſe of Commons* (which I will not heſitate to call the moſt important Branch of our Conſtitution) yet, muſt theſe Gentlemen, of Force, admit, that to exclude the Suffrage of any Individual Man in the Nation, not in legal Durance, inſane, or under Age, wou'd render it, at leaſt, as reſpecting *him*, inequitable. And wou'd even juſtify every Individual among the Thouſands, thus proſcribed, in the Indulgence of well grounded, and, perhaps, dangerous Diſcontent; ſuch as might even proceed to reproaching the Framers of ſuch a Plan with the *virtual*, and, clearly the partial Adoption of the above ariſtocratic Sentiment.

The very Eſſenſe of Liberty involves the Idea of Aſſent to thoſe Laws by which, as Free-men, they are governed; and that Aſſent

can

can conſiſt only in the Election of ſuch Delegates as they ſhall deemed qualified for the Undertaking.

Nor is any Judge, *in Conſcience*, juſtified in any Sentence paſſed under any other Sanction: even our boaſted *Common-Law* aroſe and was adopted in Times of *Villainage*, nor can any Meaſure render it *(in Conſcience)* equitable, where inflicted on the *unrepreſented Subject*. And, in Fact, its Adoption in a Parliament choſen by *univerſal Suffrage* can *alone* ſtamp on it that ſterling Currency which I candidly believe it to be, in general, deſerving of.—So much for *Appearances*, which, tho' they were, indeed, intrinſically, but *Forms and Feather*, might yet, by their Omiſſion, ſupply *Handles* to the Captious. Our new Parliamentary Conſtituency ſhou'd be, and there is no Excuſe for its being otherwiſe,

——*In ſeipſo totus; teres atque rotundus,*
Externi ne quid valeat per leve morari
In quem manca ruat ſemper fortuna.

How can that be ſaid of it, while *Cornwall*, a mere Corner of our Iſland ſends, either, by the moſt puerile Overſight!!! or the moſt glaring Partiality, nearly four Times as many Members

to Parliament as Yorkſhire, which is more than four Times its Size, and exceeds it ſtill more, in Population: nay ſends, as Mr. Grey obſerved, a Number equal to the whole Kingdom of Scotland. Yet, wou'd Mr. Grey acquieſce! in the Continuance of ſo ſhameleſs an Incongruity.—Let me not, haſtily however, blame theſe Gentlemen; their Object is, I know, *Conciliation*; but, ſuppoſing that the moſt ruthleſs Depravity cou'd any how merit ſuch Attentions, not to ſay ſuch injurious Sacrifices, from an inſulted Nation; what *Compliance?* can be expected from thoſe who have ſo long manifeſted, that they wou'd rather ſink the Whole, than relinquiſh a few miſerable Privileges which (however originally obtained) are a moſt *odious Blot* in the very Face of our Conſtituency.

Our Patriot Leaders ſay, *Let us drive the Nail that will go.* I, who am no Leader, ſay, *Let us make that Nail go, that will hold our Work together.*

If this important Member of the Conſtitution be in *Ruins*, as muſt be granted by all diſprejudiced Men, let it be *rebuilt*, and that, in a maſterly Stile. Let us not patch, into a noble

noble Building, a heavy gothic Deformity, that *muſt diſgrace*, and *may* again pull down the Whole.

It was my original Aſſertion that no Agency, but that of hard Neceſſity, cou'd ſuffice to the Accompliſhment of ſo difficult a Service: that Agent is, by their own miſerable Delinquency, involuntarily furniſhed, or will probably, ſoon be ſo. And ſurely, Privileges were never forfeited by a more extenſive and miſchievous Abuſe of them.—Have we not? in ſingle and detached Corporations, numerous Inſtances of Charters cancelled for their Abuſe, in which many Individuals had, yet, acted with ſtricteſt Probity: cou'd that be ſaid of, even, *entire* Corniſh Boroughs, ſhou'd it? by the moſt fair Analogy be a *Salvo* for the Whole. Shou'd it, in Reaſon (when we are projecting an equal and compleat Reform) protect it from the common Treatment of every other County. Has its Conduct? merited Exemptions: were even Puniſhment and Retaliation meant, their inveterate Venality has in mere Juſtice deſerved it.

But, after all, the enormous Maſs of Boroughs they would be deprived of are, in

Truth, but barren Privileges, if not, *againſt all Law*, put to Sale: and their fair Proportion of Conſtituency wou'd, by Reform, permanently be entailed upon their County with all the Benefits accruing to *univerſal Suffrage*; which wou'd devolve by a general and juſt Defuſion, to thoſe Inhabitants who have been ſo long the Dupes of their venal and rapacious Proprietors of Boroughs. Is it deemed a Hardſhip? to deprive a Smuggler of his contraband Property, ſtill leſs ſo then, when inſtead of Puniſhment, he is only compelled in Future, to the Exerciſe of legal Commerce.

Let us now, for the Facilitation of Argument, admit, for a Moment, that Liberty cou'd be, *any how*, ſaid to exiſt under a Conſtitution, where ſo conſiderable a Share of the Community was liable to be taxed by any Parliament, in whoſe Conſtituency they had not the moſt diſtant Concern, and tryed by Laws, in whoſe framing they had, no how concurred.—Even then, I ſay, wou'd? the Reſtriction of conſtituent Powers to *Houſe-holders only*, be attended with fewer Inconveniences, or be ſubject to leſs Corruption, than the indiſcriminate

minate Adjudgment of Conſtituency, to every Order of Men in the Nation.

The Excellency of Mr. Grenville's Law for the Tryal of diſputed Elections, no Man will deny, yet ſuch are the Expences and Delays attending it, that we have known the Lapſe of Day after Day without Members ſufficient to conſtitute a Houſe, from the ſole View of evading the Ballot for Committys.—By *univerſal Suffrage*, and Elections conducted upon the following Plan, all theſe Inconveniences are avoided: no Man can poſſibly vote twice, and the Identity of Rank cannot poſſibly come in Queſtion, where *all of whatever Vocation* are entitled to vote. But, independent of *Excluſion*, Mr. Grey is for entering into *terretorial Diviſions* which, beſides, the Difficulty and Inaccuracy that muſt, for many Years attend their Aſcertainment, is in Fact, wantonly opening a Door for eternal Uncertainty and Litigation, it is taking every poſſible Meaſure for *perpetuating* the Neceſſity and even multiplying the Number of Mr. Grenville's Committys.

It is likewiſe worthy of Conſideration whether Cottagers and Houſeholders of that Claſs which

which make ſo large a Share of Mr. Grey's Conſtituents, be leſs dependent or leſs liable to miniſterial Influence, than the induſtrious, hardy Labourer, which he wou'd exclude.

The Cottager, and every indigent Houſe-tenant, cannot, like the Snail, bear away his Dwelling, if uncompliant with the *Mandate* of his Landlord:—he is then, warned out, and by that very Act, often conſigned with his whole Family to Want and to Mendicity: the Hyſtory of Boroughs, electing under theſe Circumſtances, furniſhes ſufficient Proof of this Aſſertion. While the *indiſpenſible* Services of the induſtrious Labourer, if he carry with him but his Flail and Sythe, his Pick-ax and his Trowell, his Saw and Plains, or whatever Implements of his honeſt Induſtry, into the adjacent or any other Pariſh, is received with Welcome, and is ſecure of Employment.—Would we exemplify a *dependent* and ſervile Claſs of Men, it muſt be that of poor Cottagers.—Were I to PERSONIFIE *Independence*, the honeſt induſtrious Labourer, ſhou'd be my Prototype: yet, would Mr. Grey retain thoſe of the firſt Deſcription, and proſcribe the Latter.

Shou'd

Shou'd any Objection lay againſt the Number of Repreſentatives to be nominated by each Individual in the reſpective Countys, and the very ſlender Knowledge he can poſſibly have of the Candidates; the beſt Way to obviate that Difficulty and Delay, will be to furniſh the Overſeers of each Pariſh, with a Book ruled, ſomewhat on the Plan of Lottery Office Keepers.—On the left Margin of the Page will be the *Regiſter of the Pariſh Voters:* and in a Line, before each Name, *Columnal Diviſions*, anſwering to the Candidates Names on the Top of the Page; ſo that, a ſingle Dot or Croſs made in the Diviſion anſwering to the Candidates nominated by each Voter *in his Line* may be ſet down full as ſoon as that of two County Members *now*, written at full Length.

As to their Ignorance of the Candidates, what? do they *now* know, but from Information. The only Difference will be that, as they will ſcarcely be *all* able to recollect the Candidates pointed out to them *as propereſt*, thoſe of their Friends or Patrons, from whom they mendicate Intelligence, muſt, (where

(where they cannot write themſelves) ſet down the Names, to which, *Voters of this Deſcription* muſt make their *Marks* in preſenſe of ſome confidential Friend or Neighbour, who ſhall read the Names *again* to him, and then atteſt his Mark; this Liſt he will give in when called upon to Vote, to be afterwards confronted with the *Poll Books*.

In order to diminiſh the Number of Candidates in the larger Countys, Yorkſhire is, at leaſt, *ready* divided into Ridings. London and Weſtminſter will be diſtinct: and it may be, perhaps, expedient to allot Members to every City that can *fairly* number *Twelve Thouſand* VOTERS: which wou'd imply at leaſt Forty Thouſand *Inhabitants*. The Voters ſhou'd be, however, *fairly regiſtered* as early as poſſible, before the FIRST FREE ELECTION, and One Year previous to every future Election, or be deprived of that Year's Suffrage.

I would clearly prefer Repreſentation by *Counties*, for, beſides that their Limits are *already aſcertained*, any ſmaller Diviſions might be more eaſily monopolized; and their *new* Boundaries, ſubject to Cavil and Evaſion. When every

every Individual in a large County, Polls for *every Member*, it muſt be *long*, ere they are effectually corrupted: on this Account, the more extenſive they are, the ſafer. Yorkſhire and London, might alone ſuffice to make a bad Miniſter deſpair of Succeſs, in ſo iniquitous an Attempt.

Were this Plan once adopted, and the Members, (which ſhould not exceed the preſent Number) finally * proportioned, and allotted to

* The following Apportionments (though not my own) appear to me juſt, the Univerſities excepted, and a Deduction made for thoſe allotted to large Cities.

Rutland, and the two Univerſities, each	2	6
Huntingdon, and Weſtmoreland, each	3	6
Bedford	5	5
Berkſhire, Cumberland, Herefordſhire, each	6	18
Bucks, Cambridgeſhire with Ely, Hertfordſhire, Dorſetſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Oxfordſhire, each	7	42
Leiceſterſhire	8	8
Suſſex, Warwickſhire, Worceſterſhire, each	9	27
Cheſhire, Cornwall, Derbyſhire, Northamptonſhire, Salop, Staffordſhire, each	10	60
Hampſhire, Wiltſhire, each	11	22
Gloceſterſhire	13	13
Eſſex, Surrey with Southwark, each	16	32
Lincolnſhire	17	17
Kent, Lancaſhire, Somerſet, Suffolk, each	18	72
Durham Biſhoprick with Northumberland, Devonſhire, each	21	42

Norfolk

to the Counties, Nothing *literally*, would remain, but to regiſter the People, I can therefore, *myſelf*, conceive, no Plan, either leſs exceptionable, or leſs *confuſed*. Yet ſhould a happier Planner, *upon the ſame liberal and broad Baſis*, produce a more ſucceſsful Effort; I would gladly and *cordially* applaud it. Amply flattered in having been the firſt Propoſer of *that only*, which can ſecure the Fabric—*An unequivocal and firm Foundation*.

I will now conclude this Poſtſcript, with my ſincere Declaration of the moſt profound Eſteem and Reſpect for the *Common Law* of England. But, there is yet, another Law, which Candor will ever declare, paramount, even to that! it is implanted by Providence in the Breaſt of every good and reaſoning Man: it is the Law of EQUITY. And though it be not on every Occaſion, ſo invariably preciſe and aſcertainable as the Former, nor *alone* ſo fitted to the Regulation of *individual* Concerns, yet, when aſſerted by the GREAT LEVIA-

Norfolk	22	22
Wales with Monmouth	30	30
Middleſex with London and Weſtminſter	45	45
Yorkſhire	46	46

THAN,

THAN, in Defence of his natural and juſt Title, to doubt of its prevailing in the End, would be to depreciate the Spirit of Nine Tenths of our Countrymen, and to diſpute the Candor of the Reſt.

First Printed in 1784.

THOUGHTS

On NATIONAL INDEPENDENCY and GENERAL ELECTIONS.

IT is an Obſervation aſſented to by all Parties, that the Property of Engliſhmen is better ſecured by their Laws, than that of the Subjects of any other Nation, and the Protection of thoſe Laws, however intricate they may be, is, at a *ſufficiently* eaſy Rate, procurable to thoſe who have any Property worth defending: But can the ſame be juſtly aſſerted of their once ſo much boaſted Liberty? It is a Queſtion, I fear, too obviouſly reſolvable in the Negative, and but too likely to remain ſo, whilſt our Repreſentatives in Parliament, continue to be choſen after the original Mode of Election, which, though perhaps an excellent One, at the Time of its firſt Inſtitution, has ceaſed to anſwer the End, from that Period, when the Revenue became ſo great, as to admit of Employments enough, and ſufficiently profitable, to enable the Miniſter, who can

deal them out with Judgment, to ſecure a conſtant Majority in the Houſe of Commons.

The trite Sentence, "I have a Right, after having bought you, to ſell you," is tacitly acceded to, and wrought into Practice by *every Party* in its Turn, and *that* ſo openly, that Venality is now no longer reproachful; a vaſt Share of the public Treaſure (as ſome One has juſtly obſerved, though in different Terms) ſeems every Seſſion expoſed to Scramble; and in Truth, it is not extraordinary that each Pretender ſhould, in this Caſe, pocket the moſt he can get; for, *Such a One is he? Such is his Neighbour.*

There is no Action in itſelf ſo vicious, but it will, by univerſal Practice, be ſo palliated, as even totally to have the Odium annexed to it, removed; the preſent State of national Corruption, gives, this Aſſertion ſufficient Proof, and will, one may, (without the Gift of Prophecy) foreſee, backed by our immenſe * Debt,

* This was written in 1771. Our Debt was doubled in 82. It was, ſoon after that, undertaken to be extinguiſhed by Mr. Pitt, but, as I obſerved, at *that very* Time (that it wou'd be, in the firſt French War) it is now *again* doubled, and that in leſs than four Years Continuance of the War.

in

in a very few Years, encreaſe the Convulſions we have lately ſtruggled under, to a *compleat Diſſolution.*

It will be *then, and not before,* that emerging from Diſtreſſes we can at Preſent only gueſs at, the faulty Parts of the Britiſh Conſtitution, may be reſtored; but I fear it will be in ſome Sort neceſſary to lop the rotted Extremities; I mean the Privilege of chuſing Repreſentatives, ſo baſely proſtituted by the Boroughs.

Whatever *they* may deſerve, for the Sake of their Poſterity, I am far from wiſhing to deprive them of their Rights, as conſtituent Members of one great Body; but I can conceive of no Means of re-eſtabliſhing *independent* and *free Parliaments* more equitable and efficacious than that of veſting the Right of Election ſolely in the Counties, and confirming the Power of voting for Members, to thoſe only who are poſſeſt of ſuch *landed* Property as may be in general ſuppoſed to place them above the Temptation of a * *common Bride.*—

* The Bribes, *now* held out, are not *common* Ones, and it is for that Reaſon that I have adopted *Univerſal Suffrage,* for, independent of its *equitable Claim,* you cannot bribe the Whole.

If, for Inſtance, every Freeholder of Thirty Pounds a Year and upwards, were triennially convened to the moſt central Market Town in the County, *there* to give his Votes in Favour of as many as each County, with its Boroughs, ought *(porportionably to its Extent, Riches, and Inhabitants)* to ſend Members to Parliament, it would, I believe, be the moſt permanent Method of procuring an able and fair Repreſentation of the Kingdom; beſides, the Multitude having no Buſineſs there, would render general Elections (were they even annual) much leſs prejudicial to Induſtry, which ſuffers at preſent not more, perhaps, from the Riot and Drunkenneſs that precedes Election, than from an Expectation of the ſeptennial Bribe they have been taught by Cuſtom to reckon, and in a Dependence upon which, they behave with proportional Degree of Idleneſs and Inſolence.

I pretend not to know the Authority by which ſuch a Change, or rather Amendment in the Conſtitution can be ordained, I only ſay that *Neceſſity is a powerful Agent*, and that it will (if ever the *Exigence* of the Times, occaſions its taking place) be univerſally beneficial;

ficial; for it is next to impoſſible that a truly independent Body of Men, inveſted with full Powers to ſerve itſelf, and its Conſtituents, ſhould fail of Succeſs; and I never will imagine, that a King of Great-Britain (who might be then *juſtly* ſaid to reign over a free People) could ever reaſonably regret a Change, which would only contribute to ſettle, confirm, and enlarge his Empire.

The only Loſers would be the preſent Proprietors of Boroughs, but as it would be a Confiſcation juſtly due to ſuch contraband Traffic, though many worthy People might be involved in it, who are only by *Inheritance* Receivers of all that ill-gotten Property, yet it is to be hoped, that as real Patriots, they would without Reluctance acquieſce in ſuch a Sacrifice to public Good.

As to Parliamentary *Influence*, it would be *then* depoſited (where a Truſt of that Importance ſhould be) in the Breaſts of the moſt Able, Popular, and Wealthy; but, in order to the effectually obviating that moſt dangerous Evil MINISTERIAL INFLUENCE, which will be ever inſeparable from the *permanent* Power

of Placemen, as the Conſtituents of each County would (by the above Plan) be ſo reduced, as *conveniently* to be known, and regiſtered, proviſional Right, ſhould be granted, and ſecured to a Majority of the compleat Number of each County, by Petition or Proteſt, to change any of their Repreſentatives, if at *any Time after* the Acceptance of Place or Penſion, their Conduct was diſapproved; the ſame Right ſhould continue in Force over thoſe choſen while actually in Place, inſtead of the preſent *nugatory* Mode of Vacating.

As London, and other great Cities, would have an Influence at Elections, and a Repreſentation in the Houſe, proportioned to their numerous Inhabitants, they would have leſs to regret, in ſharing the common Lot: As to the * Buſineſs of Government being carried

* The Buſineſs of Government ſhou'd be the *eſſential* and general Good of the Nation. Not that of continuing a few venal Placemen in Office. And, to *that End*, beginning, and proſecuting a *ruinous* War, I mean with the *ſole View* of diverting, or rather *ſilencing* the juſt Claims of the People on the Subject of PARLIAMENTARY REFORM, to which the preſent Miniſters and Borough Holders, manifeſtly prefer that Ruin which I originally foretold, as the only Means of obtaining REFORM.

on with ſuch a Parliament, there could be little Danger of Obſtruction to it, if *fit* to be forwarded; their Powers and Privileges might alſo be, without Fear of Jealouſy, increaſed in ſome Inſtances, and curtailed where incompatible with Law; but at any Rate, well *aſcertained* in all.

P. S. Should the Expediency of the above Meaſures be diſputed, the original State of Parliaments, their preſent Frailty, and ſcandalous and indiſcrete Abuſe *of aſſumed* Privilege, has lately undergone ſuch an *eternal Blazon* from the maſterly Pen of the inimitable *Junius*, in his Letter of the Twenty-ſecond of April, as to put it paſt a Doubt, and I am not a little flattered in the Hope that theſe Reflections, which were written ſome Months before the late groſs Infractions of Liberty and Law, will meet his private Approbation, ſince the Evils he has more particularly pointed out, are I think as fully *as can be* guarded againſt in them, and that with as little Reciſion or Innovation, as ſo advanced a Decay would poſſibly admit of, for ſo the rapid Decline of our Conſtitution may but too juſtly

be called. Britain ought, however, of all Nations, leaſt to *deſpair of the Republic*, for ſhe has heretofore Phœnix, or rather Hydra-like, ever riſen more formidable, from the temporary Diſſolution of her Government.

WITH

WITH a View to proving beyond the Poſſibility of a Doubt, that the celebrated Junius was not, as aſſerted in the Pamphlet entitled *Free Parliaments*, an Enemy to *equal Repreſentation*—in Teſtimony of the ingenuous and unparelleled Candor of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Writer,—and juſtly flattered with the Applauſe of One ſo rarely laviſh of it, the Author of theſe Reflections, though not vain enough to deem them worthy of ſuch exalted Commendations, could not with Propriety omit tranſcribing the following * Lines, *which*, though in the firſt Inſtance, they only relate to the foregoing Tract, fully and pointedly in their Progreſs, allude to the moral, the ſerious, and the more abſtruſe Parts of this little Volume.

That they might be intelligible, it was poſſitively neceſſary to accompany them with the Extract of Junius's Letter to John Wilkes, Eſq. although the Author is reduced by it, to ſuffer that humiliating Compariſon, which muſt in ſome Degree be every Man's Fate that has the Fortune to ſtand by this accurate and elegant Coloſſus.

THE

THE Reverend Mr. John Horne having with his uſual Veracity and honeſt Induſtry, circulated a Report that Junius, in a Letter to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, had warmly declared himſelf in Favour of long Parliaments and rotten Boroughs, it is thought Neceſſary to ſubmit to the Public the following Extract from his Letter to John Wilkes, Eſq. dated the 7th of September 1771, and laid before the Society on the 24th of the ſame Month.

" With regard to the ſeveral Articles, taken " ſeparately, I own I am concerned to ſee that " the great Condition, which ought to be the " *ſine qua non* of Parliamentary Qualification, " which ought to be the Baſis (as it aſſuredly " will be the only Support) of every Barrier " raiſed in Defence of the Conſtitution, I " mean *a Declaration upon Oath to ſhorten* " *the Duration of Parliaments*, is reduced to " the fourth Rank in the Eſteem of the So- " ciety; and, even in that Place, far from " being inſiſted on with Firmneſs and Vehe- " mence, ſeems to have been particularly " ſlighted in the Expreſſion.—*You ſhall endea-* " *vour to reſtore Annual Parliaments!*—Are

" theſe

" theſe the Terms, which Men, who are in
" earneſt, make uſe of, when the *Salus Repub-*
" *licæ* is at ſtake?—I expected other Lan-
" guage from Mr. Wilkes.—Whenever the
" Queſtion ſhall be ſeriouſly agitated, I will
" endeavour (and if I live will aſſuredly at-
" tempt it) to convince the Engliſh Nation,
" by Arguments to *my* Underſtanding unan-
" ſwerable, that they ought to inſiſt upon a
" triennial, and baniſh the Idea of an annual
" Parliament. . . . . I am
" convinced that, if ſhortening the Duration
" of Parliaments (which in Effect is keeping
" the Repreſentative under the Rod of the
" Conſtituent) be not made the Baſis of our
" new Parliamentary Juriſprudence, other
" Checks or Improvements ſignify Nothing.
" On the Contrary, if this be made the Foun-
" dation, other Meaſures may come in Aid,
" and as Auxiliaries, be of conſiderable Ad-
" vantage. Lord Chatham's Project for In-
" ſtance, of increaſing the Number of Knights
" of Shires, appears to me admirable. . . . . .
" As to cutting away the rotten Boroughs, I
" am as much offended as any Man at ſeeing
" many of them under the direct Influence of

" the

" the Crown, or at the Diſpoſal of private
" Perſons. Yet, I own, I have both Doubts
" and Apprehenſions, in Regard to the Re-
" medy you propoſe. I ſhall be charged
" perhaps with an unuſual Want of political
" Intrepidity, when I honeſtly confeſs to you,
" that I am ſtartled at the Idea of ſo extenſive
" an Amputation.—In the firſt Place, I queſ-
" tion the Power, *de jure*, of the Legiſlature
" to disfranchiſe a Number of Boroughs,
" upon the general Ground of improving the
" Conſtitution. There cannot be a Doctrine
" more fatal to the Liberty and Property we
" are contending for, than that, which con-
" founds the Idea of a *ſupreme* and an *arbitrary*
" Legiſlature. I need not point out to you
" the fatal Purpoſes, to which it has been,
" and may be applied. If we are ſincere in
" the political Creed we profeſs, there are
" many Things, which we ought to affirm,
" cannot be done by King, Lords, and Com-
" mons. Among theſe I reckon the disfran-
" chiſing of Boroughs with a general View of
" Improvement. I conſider it as equivalent
" to robbing the Parties concerned of their
" Freehold, of their Birth-right. I ſay, that

" although

" although this Birth-right may be forfeited,
" or the Exerciſe of it ſuſpended in particular
" Caſes, it cannot be taken away, by a ge-
" neral Law, for any real or pretended Purpoſe
" of improving the Conſtitution. Suppoſing
" the Attempt made, I am perſuaded you
" cannot mean that either King, or Lords
" ſhould take an active Part in it. A Bill,
" which only touches the Repreſentation of
" the People, muſt originate in the Houſe of
" Commons. In the Formation and Mode,
" of paſſing it, the excluſive Right of the
" Commons muſt be aſſerted as ſcrupulouſly,
" as in the Caſe of a Money-bill. Now, Sir,
" I ſhould be glad to know by what Kind of
" Reaſoning it can be proved, that there is a
" Power veſted in the Repreſentative to deſtroy
" his immediate Conſtituent. From whence
" could he poſſibly derive it? A Courtier, I
" know, will be ready to maintain the Affir-
" mitive. The Doctrine ſuits him exactly,
" becauſe it gives an unlimited Operation to
" the Influence of the Crown. But we, Mr.
" Wilkes, ought to hold a different Language.
" It is no Anſwer to me to ſay, that the Bill

" when

" when it paſſes the Houſe of Commons, is " the Act of the Majority, and not the Re- " preſentatives of the particular Boroughs con- " cerned. If the Majority can disfranchiſe " Ten Boroughs, why not Twenty, why not " the whole Kingdom? Why ſhould not they " make their own Seats in Parliament for Life? " When the Septennial Act paſſed, the Legiſ- " lature did what, apparently and palpably, " they had no Power to do; but they did " more than People in general were aware of: " they, in effect, disfranchiſed the whole King- " dom for Four Years.

" For Argument's Sake, I will now ſuppoſe, " that the Expediency of the Meaſure, and the " Power of Parliament are unqueſtionable. " Still you will find an inſurmountable Dif- " ficulty in the Execution. When all your " Inſtruments of Amputation are prepared, " when the unhappy Patient lies bound at " your Feet, without the Poſſibility of Reſiſ- " tance, by what infallible Rule will you direct " the Operation?—When you propoſe to cut " away the *rotten* Parts, can you tell us what " Parts are perfectly *ſound?*—Are there any

" certain

" certain Limits, in Fact or Theory, to inform
" you at what Point you muſt ſtop, at what
" Point the Mortification ends. To a Man
" ſo capable of Obſervation and Reflection as
" you are, it is unneceſſary to ſay all that
" might be ſaid upon the Subject. Beſides
" that I approve highly of Lord Chatham's
" Idea *of infuſing a Portion of new Health into*
" *the Conſtitution to enable it to bear its Infir-*
" *mities*, (a brilliant Expreſſion, and full of
" intrinſic Wiſdom) other Reaſons concur in
" perſuading me to adopt it. I have no Ob-
" jection, &c."

* The Man, who fairly and compleatly anſwers this Argument, ſhall have my Thanks and my Applauſe. My Heart is already with him.—I am ready to be converted—I admire his Morality, and would gladly ſubſcribe to his Articles of Faith.—Grateful, as I am, to the GOOD BEING, whoſe Bounty has imparted to me this reaſoning Intellect, whatever it is, I hold myſelf proportionably indebted to him, from whoſe inlightened Underſtanding another Ray of Knowledge communicates to mine. But neither ſhould I think the moſt exalted Faculties of the human Mind, a Gift worthy of

of the Divinity; nor any Aſſiſtance, in the Improvement of them, a Subject of Gratitude to my fellow Creature, if I were not ſatisfied, that really to inform the Underſtanding corrects and enlarges the Heart.

JUNIUS.

To the PRINTER of the GENERAL ADVERTISER.

SIR, *Feb.* 14, 1783.

HAVING been informed that an anonymous Author had, in a Pamphlet intitled *Free Parliaments*, clearly put to Silence every Advocate for *equal Repreſentation*, I procured it laſt Night, tho' too late for the Poſt, you would elſe have received this, One Day earlier. I confeſs, the firſt Impreſſion it made on me, was the ſtrange Abſurdity of the *Title*, which which I ſtill wonder ſhould have been adopted by ſo violent an Enemy to the Cauſe.

It would be inconſiſtent with the Declaration of my Letter to you of the 3d of Januuary were I to decline anſwering ſome Parts of the above Pamphlet, I might indeed ſay all, in Conſideration of the very little Import of his Quotations.

This Author modeſtly ſets out with profeſſing to have read every Publication on this intereſting Subject, and yet clearly appears not to have ſeen, or wilfully to have overlooked,

both the Letter you publiſhed, and the Tract it alludes to, and he does ſo, I preſume, for the Reaſons I ſhall take the Liberty to point out.

As to the *legal* Title of the People of England to *equal Repreſentation*, I never once hinted at it, whatſoever I might think of their Right in *Equity*. Nor (as this *Enemy to Dogma* roundly proclaims all the *viſionary miſanthropic Drones* to have aſſerted) did I ever poſitively inſiſt on the infallibly advantageous Effects of the propoſed Reform. I then, that is Twelve Years ago, firmly believed it would be generally beneficial, if the repreſentative Body had Virtue enough to try it. I ſhould, elſe, never have written upon the Subject; and I am now as free to confeſs, that I ſee no Argument in his Book, that has induced me in the leaſt to alter my Opinion. As to his Compilation of Quotations, and his Deciſions relative to the Duration of Parliaments prior to the Year 1694, they only go to prove, that their original Source is nearly as difficult to trace as that of the Nile, and that, probably like that, as *they* have varied and encreaſed in their Progreſs, ſo was our Conſtitution, to *that Period*, gradually tending to Perfection. But they in

no

no Sort imply, that a Change of Nature, if I may ſo term our preſent Habits of Corruption, might not well require at a future Period to be counteracted, and ſtill the more, when for Four Years out of Seven, as Junius has informed him, (though he would willingly *ſink* it upon us) the Conſtituent Powers of our People, have been totally annihilated by the *repreſentative Body*.

For the Danger of admitting Copyholders to vote for Knights of the Shire; in his Diſcuſſion of that Queſtion, he certainly parades much valuable Knowledge in the Line of *Stewardſhip*, but, after telling him, which he may not poſſibly know, that theſe Objects never formed the leaſt Part of my Conſideration, I muſt alſo beg to ſuggeſt the Probability of his having thrown out this empty *Tub* rather as an *Amuſement* to the Leviathan, who, it is to be hoped, will have more Wit than to be diverted by ſo hollow a Bate, from the great Object of his Purſuit; for, however low and *ignorant of the World* the *People*, that is, thoſe who are pleaſed to diſſent from this Gentleman's Opinions, may appear to his liberal Mind, I very ſincerely truſt, that there are many Thouſands

in this Country whom he never heard of, to the very full as equal to the Act of Legiſlation, as Nine Tenths of our preſent worthy Houſe of Commons: And, for the Remainder, I fear this Paragon of Candor begs the Queſtion rather too groſſly, when he takes Leave to preſume, their Talents would be *neglected* by free Electors, and that their only Means of Entrance into Parliament, muſt neceſſarily have been by Purchaſe or Preſentment from the preſent Proprietors of Boroughs. With Profeſſions ſo little ſpecious as theſe, this well-natured Writer, from his ſelf-raiſed Eminence arrogantly affects to look down on *Miſanthropes*.

For the Riot and piteous Deſtruction of Morals, which he ſo pathetically foretells in the future Frequency of Elections; he might as clearly have ſeen, that it is by the Plan in Queſtion effectually obviated, together with the *Locality* he ſo much affects to dread; for it will be ſurely as eaſy, when the Pariſhes are regiſtered, to *compel* the Suffrage of their Inhabitants at appointed and reaſonably diſtant Diſtricts, as it is to collect a Jury, or an Inqueſt without making either of them drunk

at

at your Expence. As to the ſpecific Boroughs to be diſcarded, he may poſſibly now recollect, that all that invidious Taſk is totally out of the Queſtion.

The World is much obliged to him for his elegant Quotation from the late truly reſpected and ſincerely lamented Earl of Chatham; had he lived till now, he might perchance, with Junius, have avowed a different, or rather a leſs ſcrupulous Opinion; what he *did* ſay, if fairly quoted, goes but to prove, that he felt, with Conviction and painful Regret, that moſt abandoned State of Corruption, at which our once noble Conſtitution was unhappily arrived; but that he had not Confidence enough in the Virtue of our Legiſlature to propoſe ſuch ſearching and effectual Applications as ſo advanced a Decay required, or as might be neceſſary to the Re-eſtabliſhment of its priſtine Vigour.—In ſhort, that he rather choſe to drag on a lingering valetudinarian Exiſtence, than generouſly to riſque its Diſſolution, *by a thorough probing of the diſeaſed Parts*, for the precarious Chance of a perfect Cure. To warrant that it would infallibly prove ſo, would be too nearly imitating this very clear-

ſighted Author, who would moſt gladly perſuade us of his *Intimacy* with Junius; for the Congeniality of their Minds, I leave the World to judge; it is however fortunate for him, that this elegant and maſterly Reaſoner is, at leaſt to *his* Purpoſe, abſent, he would not elſe have dared ſo partially to quote his Letter to John Wilkes, Eſq. in the Body of which Letter, he is not aſhamed to leave out whole Sentences, when he juſtly dreads their Appearance againſt his own Prejudices. And did he really never read the Paragraph annexed to it? for which only it ſeems to be tranſcribed by the moſt candid Politician that ever wrote. Did he really never obſerve that this Argument was *fairly and compleatly anſwered?* Unleſs he can ingenuouſly aſſert ſo much, what muſt the Public, which he would thus deceive, think of *his* Candor? May not the Purity of his other Quotations be in ſome juſt Danger of Suſpicion?

In my Opinion, the Caſe is plainly this; that the Eyes of the Engliſh Nation are now opened; that they at length perceive themſelves to be every Hour the Dupes of Laws, which they generally had no Concern in making;

king; and that, although when conquered and enſlaved, they were obliged patiently to acquieſce under ſuch as were preſcribed. Their Cauſe, the glorious Cauſe of Freedom and Juſtice, is now ſupported by many of the moſt independent and enlightened Perſonages in the Kingdom; and they will, I truſt, retort, with equal Scorn, the contemptuous Charges and iniquitous Quotations of this Declaimer, who, had he really confided in his Cauſe, would never have been reduced to ſupport it by ſuch maimed and wretched Arts. As to his finiſhing * Piece of happy Irony, I am far from thinking, that if it were realized upon the Majority of our preſent Repreſentative Body, we ſhould be Loſers by the Subſtitution; and I am perſuaded we might ſafely admit his Suppoſition, without any dangerous Riſque of its Abuſe.

A Friend to Freedom
and Limited Monarchy.

* It ſuppoſes that the *People* wou'd ſoon aſſert the Claim of an *indiſcriminate* Title to Election for a Seat in Parliament, without any Qualification whatever.—Have we not had three Tavern Waiters in the Houſe? and is not *One* ſtill there?

THOUGHTS
ON THE
INSTABILITY OF EMPIRES,

ONE OF ITS PROBABLE CAUSES ASSIGNED, WITH A PLAN OF PREVENTION, APPLICABLE IN A GREAT DEGREE TO OUR OWN DISSIPATED STATE.

WHEN I read the aſtoniſhing Catalogue of ruined Empires that Hiſtory preſents us with, and when I find myſelf obliged to accompany it through an invariable Courſe of endleſs Centuries, with the melancholy Reflection, that each, from the earlieſt Exiſtence of human Records, is but ſucceſſively tending to its Diſſolution, with the ſole Exception of the Chineſe Empire: And when I further remark, that theſe alarming Events have moſtly taken Place at the reſpective Periods of their greateſt Power and Splendor. A Subject of Britain is, at a ſimilar Criſis, naturally led to enquire into the Cauſe of this Fatality; for it may not be altogether viſionary, to conclude, from the general Uniformity of Affluence that has preceded theſe dreadful Revolutions, that there might

might have been ſome Parity of Circumſtances in the Agency that has immediately occaſioned them: Any of which, if diſcoverable, it would ſurely be prudent to guard againſt.

To aſcribe them ſolely to the Defects of our Nature, and to the conſequent Frailty of every human Eſtabliſhment, would be, I fear, both an idle Concluſion, and a raſh Arraignment of Providence, who being herſelf perfectly and permanently ſteady in her own ſtupendous Operations, has, if we may judge by Analogy, probably endowed *us*, at leaſt, when collectively viewed, with a Portion of Reaſon, abundantly ſufficient to the Government not only of ourſelves, but of our Paſſions, although as Individuals, they but too often prove an Over-match for us; this ſingle Conſideration as obviouſly as ſtrongly militates againſt every Argument that can be brought in Defence of *hereditary Deſpotiſm*; for, even allowing that the Perſon veſted with it, may be at the ſame Time gifted with every requiſite for aſſerting and maintaining the Glory and Happineſs of his Subjects, which has, I readily admit, in the long and wide extended Courſe of human Exiſtence, often been the Caſe. Yet, as it is more

than

than poſſible that this earthly Paragon will be ſucceeded by a mere Mortal of the common Caſt of Individuals, the very precarious, I might ſay, contingent Proſperity of Subjects under ſuch a Government is but too evident.

The Empire of China, from the Time of their great Lawgiver Confucius, and even ſince its Conqueſt by the Tartars, is an Inſtance rather in Favour than againſt this Doctrine; for, the firmly interwoven Principles of their Education, their Religion, and their Government, have, by an inveterate Habit, which has nearly changed their Natures, been for theſe Two Thouſand Years, ſo ſcrupulouſly inculcated, and ſo invariably obſerved by the Inhabitants of this vaſt Country, even from the revered Throne of its Sovereign, down to the loweſt of its moſt diſtinctly ſubordinate Ranks, as to leave little Room for the capricious Operation of the Will: And to reduce them by a preciſe and ſyſtematic Regularity, in whatever relates to the great Machine of Government, the general Outline of Morals, to Something like that inſtinctive unerring State of Knowledge and of Action, which we obſerve with ſuch Aſtoniſhment, in many of the aſſociated

ciated Diviſions of what we reaſoning Animals imperiouſly term the Brute Creation, happy! if our more brutal Treatment of them were not too much influenced by this arrogant and ſupercilious Appellation.

Ariſtocratic Governments, were they not marked with thoſe odious and impaſſable Diſtinctions of the *Governing* and the *Governed*, if we may judge by that of Venice, bid fairer for Permanency: Yet has the long protracted Exiſtence of even this famous Republic, perhaps, much depended on certain wiſe Regulations reſpecting the occaſional Partition of ſuch overgrown Eſtates, as might happen to center in any ſingle Nobleman, and which would otherwiſe have involved the too powerful Influence of ſome of their very extenſive, but in general, poor Nobility; and on their ſtrict Obſervance of the incomparable *noſce te ipſum*, by which conſummate Maxim, all their Councils have, for theſe laſt Two Hundred Years, moſt prudently and fortunately been actuated, and which they interpret, as I preſume, to imply a much more difficult and extenſive Knowledge, than is commonly annexed to its Idea: for, to be fully acquainted with our own *relative Value*,

lue, what is it but a thorough Pre-inveſtigation of all that does, or has ſurrounded us? It is by this alone that they are ever cautiouſly guarded, and prepared to check themſelves in the Purſuit of any ill-timed or diſproportioned Enterprize; they would elſe probably e'er now have been, like moſt of their Neighbours, a conquered and dependent Province.

It is I think, almoſt ſuperfluous to caſt a Thought away upon Democracy, for if I am not groſsly miſtaken in my Ideas of the human Heart, every Government of that Kind, muſt of Neceſſity be, after a very ſhort Duration, converted into one of the foregoing Forms, and muſt probably ſoon end in Monarchy.

The above Name, though univerſally received, is, I think, (almoſt from the Time of our firſt Charles's fifth Parliament, but clearly from that of the *juſtly termed* glorious Revolution) moſt improperly applied to the mixed Government of England; for, when rightly counterpoiſed in the true Spirit of its Intent, though neither of the three Eſtates wou'd much preponderate, yet, from the very diſtinct and unequivocal Powers that each Diviſion is inveſted

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inveſted

inveſted with, they would not only have a mutual Dependence, but they would be each enabled reciprocally to check even the Proſpect of the other's Encroachment. How far a Limitation of the Number of our Peers, and by that Means enhancing the Eſtimation of Peerage without encreaſing its Powers or *Influence*, might be a valuable Precaution towards the Security of this noble Fabric, is ſubmitted to the Deciſion of its only proper Judge, the *Legiſlature at large*, with a Retroſpect, however, to that inauſpicious *Dozen* that were at once created by our laſt female Sovereign.—But, by whatſoever Name our moſt enviable and glorious Conſtitution is celebrated, it is clearly the only fit One for enlightened Beings, ſuch as the invaluable Art of Printing, and the unlimited Freedom of the Preſs, muſt, in a few Centuries, from the firſt Period of its Invention, neceſſarily be productive of; for where the * Candidates for Science are multiplied in the

* This is ſtrongly exemplified in the preſent French Republic, where an Infinity of great Generals has, in the ſhort Space of Five Years been produced, in Oppoſition to our own Government, where none, but who have *Parliamentary Influence* are employed.—Again, our Navy, where Candidates abound, where the

the Hundred-fold, the Production of elſe hidden and neglected Genius, cannot but follow in a like Proportion.

Let us not however, from that Parity of rational Intellect which ever bountiful and impartial Providence unremittingly continues, like the great Sun her glorious Agent, equally to diſpenſe to every Rank and Order of the human Species, and who may juſtly plead an equal Title to its Improvement; let us not, I ſay, from this, argue the Neceſſity of a Similitude and an Equality in our Purſuits and Habits; Society, that at leaſt of civilized Nations, which but for Subordination, could not ſubſiſt, muſt be of Force, compoſed of different Members, the Tradeſman, the Artificer, the Houſhold Servant, thoſe who cultivate our Soil, and others without Number, not to mention the ſuperior Ranks, to which happily in our mild and well-conſtituted Government, where* Merit is the principal Qualification, all may aſpire.

the national manly Character is, *as yet*, unſophiſticated, and where Talents *alone* lead to Preferment, the Number of good Captains and Admirals is countleſs.

* In all Inſtances where miniſterial Intereſt is not the *ſine qua non*, this will be found ſtrictly the Caſe.

Now

Now as it appears from our firſt Remark, clearly founded on the ſad Experience of Ages, that the brilliant Zenith of Power, and the contagious Overflow of Wealth and Splendor, too intimately connected with the *Corruption of Morals*, has ever been the invariable Forerunner of an equally rapid and deſtructive Ebb, are we not in View of that important Diſcovery we were ſearching for? *Quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*; and may we not fairly aſcribe thoſe tremendous Shocks, by which the boaſted Glories of the moſt envied Nations, have, at this ill-omened Period, been ſo often irrevocably diſperſed and blaſted? to that Vanity and wanton Depravity of Mind, that they were, manifeſtly from their Affluence, firſt infected with, to the obvious and endleſs Miſchiefs that they are pregnant with; and, to the unpardonable Neglect of Legiſlature, that on the riſe Appearance of theſe alarming Symptoms, did not, by the ſalutary Inſtitution of *ſumptuary Edicts*, at once ſtop their Communication, and prevent their fatal Effects.

Theſe Queſtions, unleſs I am deceived, carry their Anſwer with them; and the truly pitiable

pitiable State of our own corrupt Habits, with the conſequent Depravity of our Morals, render the ſame Preventatives but too juſtly applicable; nor can the moſt unrelenting Enforcement of our penal Laws, tho' it ſhould thin us, even to a Degree of Devaſtation, ever be *alone* ſufficient to extirpate this rankly rooted Evil, until we ſtrictly and unequivocally diſcriminate the *now* ſhamefully *blended and confuſed* Diviſions of our People.

Thus far I am, for my own Share, fully convinced; but, whether the eſtabliſhing ſumptuary Laws of *ſuch Extent* as might affect thoſe of really opulent and independent Fortunes, would, were they eaſily and clearly practicable, be in this Country, upon the Whole, a beneficial Meaſure, is well worthy of Conſideration! In the Venetian Republic, where the *oſtenſible* Equality of their untitled Nobles, was the only Object; to them only, and to their Wives, have *ſuch* Laws related: but in a Conſtitution like ours, where the Accumulation of immenſe Property in its Individuals is not, as at Venice, ſubject to the dictatorial Controul of State Inquiſitors, tho' it be equally the Source of dangerous Influ-

ence; ſhould we not rather leave the Wealthy, in quiet and entire Poſſeſſion of thoſe diſſipated Habits almoſt inſeparable from Riches and Proſperity? which, by the continual Alienation of Property that muſt attend them, not only ſerve to check the *growing Power* of the Ariſtocratic Body, but at the ſame Time, wiſely encourage the induſtrious Tradeſman, who by this only Proſpect of *realizing* his well-earned Thrift, may, in his Turn, one Day be enabled to purchaſe the legal Qualification of perſonally aſſiſting in the noble Act of Legiſlation.

The indiſpenſible Neceſſity of ſumptuary Laws for the *lower Orders of our People*, at this alarming Period, when neither Impriſonment, hard Labour, Shackles, or even Death, are of the leaſt Availment, cannot, I think, be urged with more convincing Force, than by this ſole Conſideration, that they muſt, from the very Hour of their Eſtabliſhment, effectually extinguiſh the vain Ambition of *promiſcuous Intercourſe*; for, when the Badge and Livery of each Diviſion is indeviably fixed, under moderate but ſufficient Penalties, they muſt of neceſſary Conſequence ceaſe to be lured by thoſe flattering

flattering Hopes of being *miſtaken* for their Superiors from that wretched Reſemblance of their preſent Dreſs and Manner, which *now* too often tempts the very loweſt of our People, however ſhort the Proſpect of their Reign, or aſſured their Ruin, not only to neglect their Functions, and to ſquander its honeſt Produce; but, like the bloated Reptile in the Fable, rather than abandon their ill-proportioned Enterprize, to perſevere by every atrocious and deſperate Reſource, even to their Deſtruction.

If the cultivated Minds implied in the Education of the Wealthy, are not in general ſufficient to deter them from the *trifling Levities of Faſhion and of Foppery*, let them, and welcome, fully retain the excluſive Privilege of that wretched Pre-eminence: *Their Ruin*, however near, involves not that of the Community; and the above Laws completely bar againſt the pernicious Effects of their Example. For the Manner of their Application, it is happily and obviouſly ſuggeſted, by the Army, the Navy, and the Clergy: adverting in the preſent Inſtance, chiefly to Economy and *Diſtinctneſs* for the general Outline of the Diviſions: But, in the particular Detail, the

characteriſtic Symbol of each Profeſſion, ſhould be our Guide; which in many is decided by the Apron; but the Cut of untied Hair, which forty Years ago was univerſal with *Mechanics*, and which the Clergy have never varied, ſhould above all, for many Reaſons, be ſtrictly re-eſtabliſhed. An Omiſſion of Conformity to the reſpective Uniforms lawfully appointed, would imply the Intention of Diſguiſe, and often be the Means of Detection, while their *real Uniform* would as often facilitate Diſcovery in Caſes of actual Treſpaſs.

Should theſe Inſtitutions be the Cauſe of Diſcontent, though I cannot ſee the Hardſhip of being compelled, in common with the three moſt reſpectable Bodies in the Kingdom, *to wear the Badge of their Profeſſion*; yet, if the laſting Proſperity of their Country be really the firſt Object of their Wiſh, let them to merit and ſecure the Bleſſing of ſo glorious a Conſtitution, freely offer up the tributary Sacrifice of a *little Vanity*; and truſt me, the bewitching Force of Habit, will, before a Twelvemonth's Courſe, make this Change as familiar to every Rank, as the round Jacket, to our Watermen, the moſt uſeful and inoffenſive

offenſive Body in the Nation; while the Advantages it will have produced, will be as laſting as they are general, eſſential, and great.

Innovations, extenſive as theſe, for ſuch I candidly allow them; however beneficial their Inſtitution, cannot be looked for, nor will be quietly received, but from a *Free and Equal Repreſentation* founded on the broad and liberal Baſis propoſed in the foregoing Tract; by which every Intereſt, whether landed, profeſſional, or commercial, may have equal Expectations, when Integrity and Talents, will probably conſtitute the chief Objects of Election; the uninfluenced Decrees of ſuch a Parliament, cannot fail of making every Regulation palatable, however uncouth an Aſpect its firſt Appearance may preſent to the Eye of Prejudice, becauſe it will truly echo the reſpectable Sentiments of the *whole People*, by whom they are voluntarily, and without Reſerve, entruſted, freely to deliver them; nor can there exiſt any beneficial Undertaking, of whatſoever Magnitude, but what the Graſp of ſuch a Repreſentation, ſo elected, and by Conſequence ſupported, is fully equal to; even that worſe than *Curtian Chaſm*, ſo horribly extended to

our Ruin, waits but the cloſing of this powerful Hand; and I am beyond a Doubt convinced, enormous as our Debt certainly is*, it may with little Injury or Diſcontent, by the patriotic Concurrence and generous Exertion of all the Parties, ſhortly and honourably be adjuſted; the Alternative (let us not deceive ourſelves) is but the irreſolute and ruinous Protraction of a REAL, IMPENDING, INEVITABLE EVIL; which by timely Reſolution, and generous Efforts, may be ſo palliated, as ſcarcely to merit ſo harſh an Appellation.

Without it, can we as a *trading Nation*, long exiſt? Can our Manufacturers, under the neceſſary Oppreſſion of ſuch a Load of Taxes as barely ſuffice to pay the Intereſt of our Debt,

* This Aſſertion was made when our Debt was not Half of what it at preſent is. I would *then*, have undertaken (with Free Parliaments) in few Years to have extinguiſhed it, to the Satisfaction of all *reaſonable* Men.—I fear it will *now* terminate in a more compendious Way, tho' probably not with equal Satisfaction to the Creditors. The Miniſter is certainly no Fool: and as his Conduct has, for theſe five Years, held that manifeſt Tendency, I think myſelf juſtified in ſuppoſing he had that great Object in View. He has certainly a large Army on Foot, yet will he find it difficult, I fear, to direct that Storm which his Indiſcretions, or perhaps, his vain Confidence has raiſed.

can

can they, I ſay, purſue their reſpective Occupations, on any Terms that will make their Produce current; and as heretofore, anxiouſly coveted in foreign Markets? The Anſwer, to whatſoever Commodity it may relate, is uniform; think on the free and newly opened Ports of our American Brethren; reflect, but not with Diſcontent, on the Advantages of our ſiſter Kingdom, and if we are Men, really worthy of our ancient Reputation, let us by generouſly adopting, and ſteadily purſuing the only Meaſure we have, effectually qualify ourſelves to be availed of, our acknowledged Induſtry, to recover our long loſt Eſtimation, and once again eſtabliſh, in every Quarter of the Globe, that valuable Preference that was formerly the inſeparable Attendant on our univerſal Trade.

It would be a Breach of Conſiſtency, were I to quit the Subject of Morals and of Commerce, without directing a few defenſive Lines, to that implacable Enemy of both, *Impriſonment for Debt*; to urge its inevitable Deſtruction of our Morals, would be but an impertinent Waſte of Time, ſince its Effects are obvious to the moſt common Underſtanding, if it,

but for a Moment, figures to itſelf an unconnected Aggregate of deſperate Men, totally devoid of Subordination, with no Object of Intereſt but the Tap; and for thoſe it has on Commerce, I can never doubt but that the fooliſh Dependence on this baneful Reſource, has betrayed many an induſtrious Tradeſman into a Credit that he has afterwards ſeverely repented, while it has conducted numberleſs of the Extravagant and Inconſiderate to their Ruin, who but for this, had never been truſted to ſo pernicious an Extent.

The real eventual Fact (which, however ſhort, is the *full* Hiſtory of Impriſonment for Debt, and preciſely the Reverſe of Juſtice,) is clearly this: The *Inſolvent* (who, unleſs accidentally become ſo ſince the contracting of their Debt, are the *only Guilty*) after a Year or Two of *compelled* Initiation and Perſeverance in the moſt abandoned Idleneſs and Diſſipation, when conſummate Maſters in theſe Habits, are uſually by, *Acts of Grace*, permitted to leave theſe hopeful Seminaries, diſcharged in Full from every future Pretenſion of their Creditor, while *thoſe poſſeſſed of Property*, which ſhould have alone been anſwerable, and might have

have really *ſerved* the Creditor, are, by their Confinement, often obliged to ſell great Share of it for their Subſiſtence, being deprived of any from their neglected Lands or Profeſſions, and are juſtly unwilling to part with the Remainder, and by that Means *doubly ſatisfy* a hungry revengeful Tyrant, who had already feaſted for Years upon their Liberty and their irrevocable Ruin. Can there exiſt a more abſurd Contradiction (however generous the Decree, and noble the Nation that avows it) than for our Laws to emancipate a Negro fairly purchaſed, under the Sanction of cuſtomary Practice, on the Coaſt of Africa; I ſay, to declare *him* free from the very Hour he ſets Foot upon this Land of Liberty; and yet permit its *Natives* (the very Perſon perhaps who is the only Sufferer by this Law, and whoſe Loſs of it *might* even be placed to that identical Account,) to forfeit that Liberty, without any colourable Act of Violence, but by a *merely implied* Sale of it.

Every Puniſhment ſhould, in Reaſon and in Juſtice, bear ſome proportionate *Analogy* to the Offence; *Property* ſhould be by Conſequence alone anſwerable for Property, when neither

neither violently or fraudulently obtained; for in either Caſe, condign Puniſhment is Equity. But, the Privation of Freedom, without even the alledged Suſpicion of a felonious Act, is, independent of the Miſchief it is pregnant with, wantonly confounding every Idea of Juſtice; and to a ſimilar Practice, the great Roman Republic had more than once nearly owed its overthrow.—I am yet a zealous Advocate for Retribution; where there is Property, let it be, by due Forms of Law, fairly and deliberately ſold, not committed, as at Preſent by the *Under Sheriffs*, to the Management and Mercy of the moſt ignorant and infamous of the human Species, the *Bailiffs*, while the helpleſs unhappy Victim, although deprived of his All, (which is often diſpoſed of for One Tenth of its Value) is continued in Confinement at Another's Suit. Where the Income is unalienable, or cannot with Propriety be ſold, either from its Circumſtances or its Diſproportion to the Debt, let a Sufficiency for Subſiſtence be allotted to the Debtor, adapted to his Condition, and to the Extent of his Family; with the Reſt, it is juſt his Debts be paid. The honeſt Trader, *then*, knowing his Dependence, acts at his Peril.

Peril. The *Inſolvent*, neither a Bankrupt in Morals, nor *cleared* by an iniquitous *Act*, may one Day recover, and fairly diſcharge his Debt, for which any future Acquiſition is ſtill anſwerable; and for the Creditor, he could have Nothing to regret in the Abolition of a diſgraceful Practice, except the Power of indulging a brutiſh Nature, by the Perſecution of One who has *probably* been once his Benefactor.

To give this too fertile Subject a finiſhed Blazon, would require little Ingenuity or Trouble, but to candid and enlightened Minds, a bare Statement of the Propoſition will, I truſt, be deemed ſufficient, and is more conſiſtent with the Tract I had propoſed.

Nov. 1ſt, 1783.

As the following Letter (which was many Months ago addreſſed to Mr. Pitt) contains Objections to *his* particular Mode of Reform, and to the Arguments he is ſaid to have employed in the Houſe of Commons as introductory to it, the Author conceives that the annexing it in this Place, however irregular, may not be altogether unintereſting: it likewiſe ſerves to convey his explicit Sentiments, reſpecting the Number of Repreſentatives, which, tho' he had not before preciſely ſpecified, he always wiſhed to leave unaltered. No Anſwer to it whatever having been yet received, the Author preſumes that Mr. Pitt holds faſt to his Hundred additional Country Members.

SIR, *June* 4, 1783.

PERMIT me to flatter myſelf that the Packet which accompanies this Letter, will be ſo fortunate as to plead ſucceſsfully in its excuſe. I will only add, on the Subject of the little Volume I have the honour to preſent you with,

with, I purpoſely omitted to requeſt your Permiſſion for thus addreſſing it, that you might be in no Sort anſwerable for its Contents. As the few Copies I have printed of it, were not intended for Sale, becauſe not fitted to every Reader, ſhould you think they might be acceptable to any of your Friends, I will gladly ſend you as many as you pleaſe, confident of their being *then* placed in proper Hands.

Now, Sir, indulge me, as *one of the People*, in the Liberty, heartily to condole with you on the Failure of your ſecond noble Endeavour to ſerve them: I ſay condole, for had I been in the Houſe of Commons, I ſhould certainly have voted with you, although I candidly confeſs, I think, (independent of any Prejudices I may be ſuppoſed to have) the Motion you made, was inſufficient to the Object you had in view; unleſs you could have accompanied its Succeſs, with the *conſtant* Attendance of every Member, and that the Houſe would in that Caſe have contained them; for, you will I truſt, readily grant that the well diſciplined Mercenaries would in any other, be ſtill an Over-match for thoſe whoſe Attendance is untrouled, and unconditional.

In

In your Arguments againſt the Amputation of Boroughs, I cannot doubt but you were actuated, more by the Difficulties that might attend your Endeavours to perſuade that Meaſure (at the Time when a ſhameleſs * Coalition loudly proclaims its Neceſſity, and yet increaſes the Oppoſition to it) than by an actual Repugnance in your own Feelings. Though poſſeſſed of Herioiſm ſufficient to urge you to the Attack of Monſters, you are not, yet, Quixote enough to encounter Windmills, like the Reſt of your viſionary Aſſociates, as we are liberally ſtiled by thoſe who differ from us in Opinion; for my own Share, without attempting to account for that abſurd Diſparity in the ancient Diſtribution of Writs and Charters, (which upon the ſingle Compariſon of the Counties of York and Cornwall is but

* That the Character of the *then* Lord North, *as an Individual*, was even *exemplary*, I make no doubt: it was as a *Miniſter* I here ſpoke of him, tho' not with half the Venom *then* uſed in Parliament by Mr. Fox; whom, as a private Gentleman, I in every Senſe reſpect and honor; and, as a public One, admire and eſteem. Even the *Coalition* above alluded to, was, perhaps, but a Sacrifice of his own Feelings, to what he *ſurely* deemed the Service of his Country. I thought him wrong, for I knew the World would cenſure him: and ſo valuable a Character, ſhould be obnoxious to no Cenſure—no public One at leaſt.

too

too glaring) it ſuffices to a plain Underſtanding like mine, that *it is* groſsly abſurd; and whether it was originally the intereſted Act of Tyranny, or the Neglect of Imbecility, is Matter of total Indifference to an oppreſſed Nation, who now ſee and feel the Blot, who have Power to correct it, and, when their very Exiſtence is at Stake, will certainly in the End, inſiſt on that Correction.

It is argued, that it would be robbing Individuals of their Freehold; allowed, if they are permitted to carry its Produce to Market; but, as we ſcarcely beg the Queſtion in deeming ſuch Traffic contraband, which yet conſtitutes its only Value; what in Fact do we rob them of? It would diſgrace my Paper but to expreſs it in the abominable Terms it deſerves: their Powers of Conſtituency, if honeſtly exerciſed, are totally unprofitable; and ſhould the Proprietors of Boroughs continue ſo churliſhly tenacious of (what ſhould be) merely barren Prerogatives, can it be unjuſt? when no other Reſource for public Preſervation is left us, to compel their ſharing them with their Neighbours? I hope, and mean, by a voluntary and generous Decree of Parliament. Reſpecting Uſur-

Uſurpations on private Property, with a View to general Benefit, have we not many Inſtances, however ſacred the Grant, of the Abolition of *other Monopolies*, on the Diſcovery of their being prejudicial to the Community? And with what an attrocious Degree of Cruelty and partial Injuſtice is the wiſe Maxim of *ſalus Populi ſuprema Lex*, occaſionally exemplified, in the neceſſary Sacrifices to public Safety, that are made in Times of Peſtilence? The bare Relation of ſuch Precedents is painful.

It is my zealous Wiſh, that what I advanced twelve Years ſince, may not prove prophetic; this Kingdom One would think, had already ſuffered enough by the obſtinate and venal Oppoſition of its Miniſters to the general Voice of the People; they yet, ſeem on this Point to ſolicit, as they have of late invariably done, the Enforcement of what at firſt was temperately requeſted. I have ſaid the Agency of Neceſſity was powerful, the Calamities of their Anceſtors not a Century and Half ago, might remind them, that it is likewiſe, rough and lawleſs, to a Degree that even Imagination ſtarts at!

If, under its preſent Circumſtances, this Government *can*, with Propriety, be called a

mixed One, the democratic Part ſurely is at beſt but *ſpurious*, to be legitimate and pure, and to realize the Theory of its glorious Reputation, EVERY MAN SHOULD HAVE A SHARE IN IT. With what Conſcience elſe? or by what Law but that of Tyrants, can you extort the Obedience of the Nine-tenths that are unrepreſented? During the feudal Times of the Plantagenets, when they were newly conquered, and had ſcarcely the Shadow of a Repreſentation, their Taxes were at leaſt as light; their Situation was much altered by the Alienation of Eſtates that was permitted under the Tudors, the only good they ever did!* tho' from a wretched Motive, yet were the People a Hundred and Twenty Years e'er they began to feel their own Importance; in Forty more, under the Stewarts, it was fully aſſerted; I am ſorry to add, in the Wantonneſs of Triumph abuſed.

* This may perhaps have been rather too roundly aſſerted, for the Reformation muſt be acknowledged a very eſſential Benefit; yet was its Author actuated in the Eſtabliſhment of it, by no better Motives, than Luſt, Vanity and Avarice: The laſt ſordid Paſſion had excluſive Predominency in his Father's Character.—Upon the Whole, every Action of the Tudor Race, had palpably a *preſent* Tendency to aggrandize themſelves, and to enſlave their Subjects, however *eventually* productive of a contrary Effect.

Our

Our preſent Object, if *(as the original Suggeſter)* I may be allowed the Liberty to urge it, is, not barely to procure ſuch a Repreſentation as ſhall freely utter the *real* uninfluenced Sentiments of the People, but *likewiſe* ſuch a One, as ſhall leave no colourable Plea for future Reproach, from even the obſcureſt Individual: How far my *Second Plan* is, without Expence, Buſtle, or Confuſion, ſufficiently adapted to that deſirable and important End, I very *ſincerely* ſubmit to your Judgment; and if that, or any other as extenſive, and as uninvidious, meets but general Approbation, I have little Doubt from the rapid Progreſs it has already made, but that it will with Patience and ſteady Perſeverance, ſoon poſſeſs itſelf ſufficiently of the People's Mind, to ſecure its Adoption; the Prejudices of the Diſintereſted are already removed, and even the moſt bigoted *Antiquarians* dare now contemplate and examine this Bugbear: How, in that Caſe, can they, long, withhold their Aſſent to ſo beneficial and clear a Propoſition? urged as it is in the well-grounded Complaints and unremitting Solicitations of the People.

I yet wonder at your Couſin, whom I have for more than Twenty Years had the Honor

to be well known to, and whoſe unprejudiced and liberal Mind, I heartily join with all the World in admiring.

I will make no further Apology for this Letter, the truly patriotic and public Part you have acted in this glorious Enterprize, muſt neceſſarily ſubject you to much Trouble and Importunity of this Kind, happy if that were all! and that you had not (to repel the wretched Efforts of Envy and Malevolence) full Exerciſe for that Integrity and Fortitude which you are ſo amply endowed with; you cannot however but feel yourſelf on theſe Occaſions *undique tutus*, and I have as little Doubt, that you will as completely triumph in your Turn, tho' with more Liberality and Moderation than your Opponents have ſhewn.

Let me only add, that the not putting my Name to my Book, was by no Means from any Expectation or View of remaining in Concealment, but from Motives which to your Sagacity it is needleſs to ſuggeſt.

I have the honor to be, &c.

FINIS.